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# MEMOIRS

OF

# SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

VOL. IV.

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LONDON:
PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.

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# MEMOIRS

OF

# SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ. F.R.S.

SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY

IN THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

COMPRISING

## HIS DIARY

FROM 1659 TO 1669,

DECIPHERED BY THE REV. JOHN SMITH, A.B.

FROM THE ORIGINAL SHORT-HAND MS. IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY,

AND A SELECTION FROM HIS

## PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

EDITED BY

RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

SECOND EDITION.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

DIARY.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
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EMMET
COLLECTION

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# DIARY.

1667-8. JANUARY 1st. Dined with my Lord Crewe, with whom was Mr. Browne, Clerk of the House of Lords, and Mr. John Crewe. Here was mighty good discourse, as there is always: and among other things my Lord Crewe did turn to a place in the Life of Sir Philip Sidney, wrote by Sir Fulke Greville, which do foretell the present condition of this nation, in relation to the Dutch, to the very degree of a prophecy; and is so remarkable that I am resolved to buy one of them, it being quite through a good discourse. Here they did talk much of the present cheapness of corne, even to a miracle; so as their farmers can pay no rent, but do fling up their lands; and would pay in corne: but (which I did observe to my Lord, and he liked well of it) our gentry are



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grown so ignorant in every thing of good husbandry that they know not how to bestow this corne; which, did they understand but a little trade, they would be able to joyne together and know what markets there are abroad, and send it thither, and thereby ease their tenants and be able to pay themselves. They did talk much of the disgrace the Archbishop is fallen under with the King, and the rest of the Bishops also. Thence I after dinner to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "Sir Martin Mar-all;" which I have seen so often, and yet am mightily pleased with it, and think it mighty witty, and the fullest of proper matter for mirth that ever was writ; and I do clearly see that they do improve in their acting of it. Here a mighty company of citizens, prentices, and others; and it makes me observe, that when I began first to be able to bestow a play on myself, I do not remember that I saw so many by half of the ordinary prentices and mean people in the pit at 2*s.* 6*d.* a-piece as now; I going for several years no higher than the 12*d.* and then the 18*d.* places, though I strained hard to go in then when I did: so much the vanity and prodigality of the age is to be observed in this particular. Thence I to White Hall, and

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there walked up and down the house a while, and do hear nothing of any thing done further in this business of the change of Privy-counsellors: only I hear that Sir G. Savile,* one of the Parliament Committee of nine for examining the Accounts, is by the King made a Lord, the Lord Halifax; which, I believe, will displease the Parliament. By and by I met with Mr. Brisband; and having it in my mind this Christmas to do (what I never can remember that I did) go to see the gaming at the groome-porter's (I having in my coming from the playhouse stepped into the two Temple-halls, and there saw the dirty prentices and idle people playing; wherein I was mistaken, in thinking to have seen gentlemen of quality playing there), he did lead me thither; where, after staying an hour, they began to play, at about eight at night. And to see the formality of the groome-porter, who is their judge of all disputes in play and all quarrels that may arise therein, and how his under-officers are there to observe true play at each table, and to give new dice, is a consideration I never could have thought had been in the world, had I not

* Of Rufford, co. Notts, Bart.; created Lord Savile of Eland, and Viscount Halifax, 1668, Earl of Halifax, 1679, and Marquis of Halifax, 1682. Ob. 1695.



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now seen it. And so I having enough for once, refusing to venture, though Brisband pressed me hard, went away.

2d. Attended the King and the Duke of York in the Duke of York's lodgings, with the rest of the officers and many of the commanders of the fleet, and some of our master shipwrights, to discourse the business of having the topmasts of ships made to lower abaft of the mainmast; a business I understand not, and so can give no good account: but I do see that by how much greater the Council and the number of counsellors is, the more confused the issue is of their councils; so that little was said to the purpose regularly, and but little use was made of it, they coming to a very broken conclusion upon it, to make trial in a ship or two. From this they fell to other talk about the fleet's fighting this late war, and how the King's ships have been shattered; though the King said that the world would not have it that above ten or twenty ships in any fight did do any service, and that this hath been told so to him himself by ignorant people. The Prince, who was there, was mightily surprised at it, and seemed troubled; but the King told him that it was only discourse of the world.

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But Mr. Wren whispered me in the eare, and said that the Duke of Albemarle had put it into his Narrative for the House, that not above twenty-five ships fought in the engagement wherein he was, but that he was advised to leave it out; but this he did write from sea, I am sure, or words to that effect: and did displease many commanders, among others Captain Batts, who the Duke of York said was a very stout man, all the world knew; and that another was brought into his ship that had been turned out of his place when he was a boatswain, not long before, for being a drunkard. This the Prince* took notice of, and would have been angry, I think, but they let their discourse fall: but the Duke of York was earnest in it. And the Prince said to me, standing by me, "If they will turn out every man that will be drunk, they must turn out all the commanders in the fleet. What is the matter if he be drunk, so when he comes to fight he do his work? At least, let him be punished for his drunkenness, and not put out of his command presently." This he spoke very much concerned for this idle fellow, one Greene. After this the King began to tell stories of the cowardize

* Rupert.

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of the Spaniards in Flanders, when he was there, at the siege of Mardike and Dunkirke; which was very pretty, though he tells them but meanly. To Westminster Hall, and there staid a little: and then home, and by the way did find with difficulty the Life of Sir Philip Sidney. And the bookseller told me that he had sold four within this week or two, which is more than ever he sold in all his life of them; and he could not imagine what should be the reason of it: but I suppose it is from the same reason of people's observing of this part therein, touching his prophecying our present condition here in England in relation to the Dutch, which is very remarkable. It is generally believed that France is endeavouring a firmer league with us than the former, in order to his going on with his business against Spain the next year; which I am, and so every body else is, I think, very glad of, for all our fear is of his invading us. This day at White Hall I overheard Sir W. Coventry propose to the King his ordering of some particular thing in the Wardrobe, which was of no great value; but yet, as much as it was, it was of profit to the King and saving to his purse. The King answered to it with great indifferency, as a thing

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that it was no great matter whether it was done or no. Sir W. Coventry answered: "I see your Majesty do not remember the old English proverb, 'He that will not stoop for a pin, will never be worth a pound.'" And so they parted, the King bidding him do as he would; which, methought, was an answer not like a King that did intend ever to do well.

4th. It seems worth remembering that this day I did hear my Lord Anglesy at the table, speaking touching this new Act for Accounts, say that the House of Lords did pass it because it was a senseless, impracticable, ineffectual, and foolish Act; and that my Lord Ashly having shown that it was so to the House of Lords, the Duke of Buckingham did stand up and told the Lords that they were beholden to my Lord Ashly, that having first commended them for a most grave and honourable assembly, he thought it fit for the House to pass this Act for Accounts because it was a foolish and simple Act: and it seems it was passed with but a few in the House, when it was intended to have met in a grand Committee upon it. And it seems that in itself it is not to be practiced till after this session of Parliament, by the very words of the Act, which

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nobody regarded, and therefore cannot come in force yet, unless the next meeting they do make a new Act for the bringing it into force sooner; which is a strange omission. But I perceive my Lord Anglesy do make a mere laughing-stock of this Act, as a thing that can do nothing considerable, for all its great noise.

5th. The business of putting out of some of the Privy-council is over, the King being at last advised to forbear it; for whereas he did design it to make room for some of the House of Commons that are against him, thereby to gratify them, it is believed that it will but so much the more fret the rest that are not provided for, and raise a new stock of enemies by them that are displeased: and it goes for a pretty saying of my Lord Anglesy's up and down the Court, that he should lately say to one of the great promoters of this putting him and others out of the Council, "Well, and what are we to look for when we are outed? Will all things be set right in the nation?" The other said that he did believe that many things would be mended: "But," says my Lord, "will you and the rest of you be contented to be hanged if you do not redeem all our misfortunes and set all right, if the power be put into your hands?"

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The other answered, No, he would not undertake that. "Why then," says my Lord, "I and the rest of us that you are labouring to put out will be contented to be hanged if we do not recover all that is past, if the King will put the power into our hands and adhere wholly to our advice."

7th. To the Nursery: but the house did not act to-day; and so I to the other two playhouses into the pit to gaze up and down, and there did by this means for nothing see an act in "The Schoole of Compliments" at the Duke of York's house, and "Henry the Fourth" at the King's house; but not liking either of the plays, I took my coach again, and home.

8th. To White Hall, and by coach home, taking up Mr. Prin at the Court gate (it raining), and setting him down at the Temple: and by the way did ask him about the manner of holding of Parliaments, and whether the number of Knights and Burgesses were always the same? And he says that the latter were not; but that, for aught he can find, they were sent up at the discretion at first of the Sheriffes, to whom the writs are sent to send up generally the Burgesses and citizens of their county: and he do find that heretofore the Parliament-men being paid by the country, several

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burroughs have complained of the Sheriffes putting them to the charge of sending up Burgesses; which is a very extraordinay thing to me, that knew not this, but thought that the number had been known, and always the same.

10th. To White Hall; and there to wait on the Duke of York with the rest of my brethren, which we did a little in the King's green-room while the King was in Council: and in this room we found my Lord Bristoll walking alone; which wondering at while the Council was sitting, I was answered that as being a Catholique he could not be of the Council; which I did not consider before. This day I received a letter from my father, and another from my cosen Roger Pepys, who have had a view of Jackson's evidences of his estate, and do mightily like of the man and his condition and estate, and do advise me to accept of the match for my sister, and to finish it soon as I can; and he do it so as I confess I am contented to have it done, and so give her her portion.

11th. To the King's house, to see "The Wildgoose Chase."* In this play I met with nothing extraordinary at all, but very dull inventions and designs. Knipp came and sat by us, and her talk

* By Beaumont and Fletcher.

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pleased me a little, she telling me how Miss Davis is for certain going away from the Duke's house, the King being in love with her; and a house is taken for her, and furnishing; and she hath a ring given her already worth 600*l.*: that the King did send several times for Nelly, and she was with him; and I am sorry for it, and can hope for no good to the State from having a Prince so devoted to his pleasure. She told me also of a play shortly coming upon the stage of Sir Charles Sedley's, which, she thinks, will be called "The Wandering Ladys," a comedy that she thinks will be most pleasant; and also another play, called "The Duke of Lorane;" besides "Catiline," which she thinks, for want of the clothes which the King promised them, will not be acted for a good while.

14th. To my bookseller, Martin, and there did receive my book I expected of China, a most excellent book with rare cuts; and there fell into discourse with him about the burning of Paul's when the City was burned, his house being in the church-yard. And he tells me that it took fire first upon the end of a board that among others was laid upon the roof instead of lead, the lead being broke off, and thence down lower and lower: but that the burning

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of the goods under St. Fayth's arose from the goods taking fire in the church-yard, and so got into St. Fayth's church; and that they first took fire from the Draper's side, by some timber of the houses that were burned falling into the church. He says that one warehouse of books was saved under Paul's; and there were several dogs found burned among the goods in the church-yard, and but one man, which was an old man, that said he would go and save a blanket which he had in the church, and being weak the fire overcame him. He says that most of the booksellers do design to fall a-building again the next year; but that the Bishop of London do use them most basely, worse than any other landlords, and says he will be paid to this day the rent, or else he will not come to treat with them for the time to come; and will not, on that condition either, promise them in any thing how he will use them: and the Parliament sitting, he claims his privilege, and will not be cited before the Lord Chief Justice, as others are there, to be forced to a fair dealing. Thence by coach to Mrs. Pierce's, where my wife is; and there they fell to discourse of the last night's work at Court, where the ladies and Duke of Monmouth and others

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acted "The Indian Emperour;" wherein they told me these things most remarkable: That not any woman but the Duchesse of Monmouth and Mrs. Cornwallis did any thing but like fools and stocks, but that these two did do most extraordinary well: that not any man did any thing well but Captain Olrigran,* who spoke and did well, but above all things did dance most incomparably. That she did sit near the players of the Duke's house; among the rest Miss Davis, who is the most impertinent slut, she says, in the world; and the more, now the King do show her countenance; and is reckoned his mistress, even to the scorne of the whole world; the King gazing on her, and my Lady Castlemaine being melancholy and out of humour, all the play not smiling once. The King, it seems, hath given her a ring of 700*l.* which she shows to every body, and owns that the King did give it her; and he hath furnished a house in Suffolke-street most richly for her; which is a most infinite shame. It seems she is a bastard of Colonell Howard, my Lord Berkshire, and that he hath got her for the King: but Pierce says that she is a most homely jade as ever she saw, though

* *Sic. Orig.*

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she dances beyond any thing in the world. She tells me that the Duchesse of Richmond do not yet come to the Court, nor hath seen the King, nor will not, nor do he own his desire of seeing her; but hath used means to get her to Court, but they do not take.

15th. This afternoon my Lord Anglesy tells us that it is voted in Council to have a fleet of 50 ships out: but it is only a disguise for the Parliament to get some money by; but it will not take, I believe.

16th. Lord Anglesy tells us again that a fleet is to be set out; and that it is generally, he hears, said that it is but a Spanish rhodomontado; and that he saying so just now to the Duke of Albemarle, who came to town last night (after the thing was ordered,) he told him a story of two seamen: one wished all the guns of the ship were his, and that they were silver; and says the other, "You are a fool, for if you can have it for wishing, why do you not wish them gold?" "So," says he, "if a rhodomontado will do any good, why do you not say 100 ships?" And it is true; for the Dutch and French are said to make such preparations as 50 sail will do no good. Mightily pleased with Mr. Gibson's talk-

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ing; he telling me so many good stories relating to the war and practices of commanders, which I will find a time to recollect; and he will be an admirable help to my writing a history of the Navy, if ever I do.

17th. Much discourse of the duell yesterday between the Duke of Buckingham, Holmes, and one Jenkins, on one side, and my Lord of Shrewsbury,* Sir John Talbot,† and one Bernard Howard,‡ on the other side: and all about my Lady Shrewsbury,§ who is at this time, and hath for a great while been, a mistress to the Duke of Buckingham. And so her husband challenged him, and they met yesterday in a close near Barne-Elmes and there fought: and my Lord Shrewsbury is run through the body, from the right breast through the shoulder; and Sir

* Francis eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury, died of his wounds March 16th following.

† Sir John Talbot, a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, M.P. for Knaresborough.

‡ Bernard Howard, eighth son of Henry Frederic Earl of Arundel.

§ Anna Maria, daughter of Robert Earl of Cardigan, the Duke of Buckingham's mistress, and said to have held his horse, in the habit of a page, while he was fighting with her husband. She married, secondly, George Rodney Bridges, son of Sir Thomas Bridges of Keynsham, Somerset, and died April 20, 1702.

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John Talbot all along up one of his armes; and Jenkins killed upon the place, and the rest all in a little measure wounded. This will make the world think that the King hath good counsellors about him, when the Duke of Buckingham, the greatest man about him, is a fellow of no more sobriety than to fight about a mistress. And this may prove a very bad accident to the Duke of Buckingham, but that my Lady Castlemaine do rule all at this time as much as ever she did, and she will, it is believed, keep all matters well with the Duke of Buckingham: though this is a time that the King will be very backward, I suppose, to appear in such a business. And it is pretty to hear how the King had some notice of this challenge a week or two ago, and did give it to my Lord Generall to confine the Duke, or take security that he should not do any such thing as fight: and the Generall trusted to the King that he, sending for him, would do it; and the King trusted to the Generall. And it is said that my Lord Shrewsbury's case is to be feared, that he may die too; and that may make it much worse for the Duke of Buckingham: and I shall not be much sorry for it, that we may have some sober man come in his room to assist in the Government.

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Creed tells me of Mr. Harry Howard's giving the Royall Society a piece of ground next to his house to build a college on; which is a most generous act. And he tells me he is a very fine person, and understands and speaks well; and no rigid Papist neither, but one that would not have a Protestant servant leave his religion, which he was going to do, thinking to recommend himself to his master by it; saying, that he had rather have an honest Protestant than a knavish Catholique. I was not called in to the Council; and therefore home, first informing myself that my Lord Hinchingbroke hath been married this week to my Lord Burlington's daughter: so that that great business is over; and I am mighty glad of it, though I am not satisfied that I have not a favour sent me.

19th. Lord Shrewsbury is likely to do well.

20th. To Drumbleby's the pipe-maker, there to advise about the making of a flageolet to go low and soft; and he do show me a way which do do, and also a fashion of having two pipes of the same note fastened together, so as I can play on one, and then echo it upon the other; which is mighty pretty. So to my Lord Crewe's to dinner; where we hear all the good news of our making a league



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now with Holland against the French Power coming over them or us: which is the first good act that hath been done a great while, and done secretly and with great seeming wisdom; and is certainly good for us at this time, while we are in no condition to resist the French, if he should come over hither: and then a little time of peace will give us time to lay up something, which these Commissioners of the Treasury are doing; and the world do begin to see that they will do the King's work for him, if he will let them. My Lord told a good story of Mr. Newman, the Minister in New England, who wrote the Concordance, of his foretelling his death and preaching a funeral sermon, and did at last bid the angels do their office, and died. It seems there is great presumption that there will be a Toleration granted: so that the Presbyterians do hold up their heads; but they will hardly trust the King or the Parliament what to yield them, though most of the sober party be for some kind of allowance to be given them. Lord Gerard is likely to meet with ill, the next sitting of Parliament, about Carr being set in the pillory; and I am glad of it. And it is mighty acceptable to the world to hear,

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that among other reductions the King do reduce his Guards; which do please mightily.

21st. Comes news from Kate Joyce that, if I would see her husband alive, I must come presently. So I to him, and find his breath rattled in the throate; and they did lay pigeons to his feet, and all despair of him. It seems on Thursday last he went sober and quiet to Islington, and behind one of the inns (the White Lion) did fling himself into a pond: was spied by a poor woman, and got out by some people, and set on his head and got to life: and so his wife and friends sent for. He confessed his doing the thing, being led by the Devil; and do declare his reason to be his trouble in having forgot to serve God as he ought since he came to his new employment:* and I believe that, and the sense of his great loss by the fire, did bring him to it; for he grew sick, and worse and worse to this day. The friends that were there being now in fear that the goods and estate would be seized on, though he lived all this while, because of his endeavouring to drown himself, my cosen did endeavour to remove what she could of plate out of the house, and desired me to take my flagons;

* He kept a tavern.



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which I did, but in great fear all the way of being seized; though there was no reason for it, he not being dead. So with Sir D. Gauden to Guild Hall to advise with the Towne-Clerke about the practice of the City and nation in this case: and he thinks it cannot be found selfe-murder; but if it be, it will fall, all the estate, to the King. So I to my cosen's again; where I no sooner come but find that he was departed. So at their entreaty I presently to White Hall, and there find Sir W. Coventry; and he carried me to the King, the Duke of York being with him, and there told my story which I had told him; and the King, without more ado, granted that, if it was found, the estate should be to the widow and children: which indeed was a very great courtesy, for people are looking out for the estate.

22d. At noon with my Lord Brouncker to Sir D. Gauden's, at the Victualling-office, to dinner, where I have not dined since he was Sheriffe. He expected us: and a good dinner, and much good company; and a fine house, and especially two rooms very fine, he hath built there. His lady a good lady; but my Lord led himself and me to a great absurdity in kissing all the ladies, but the finest of all the company, leaving her out

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I know not how; and I was loath to do it, since he omitted it. Here little Chaplin dined, who is like to be Sheriffe the next year; and a pretty humoured little man he is: and Mr. Talents the younger, of Magdalene College, Chaplain to the Sheriffe; which I was glad to see, though not much acquainted with him.

23d. At the office all the morning; and at noon find the Bishop of Lincolne * come to dine with us; and after him comes Mr. Brisband. And there mighty good company. But the Bishop a very extraordinary good-natured man, and one that is mightily pleased, as well as I am, that I live so near Bugden, † the seat of his bishopricke, where he is like to reside; and indeed I am glad of it. In discourse we think ourselves safe for this year, by this league with Holland; which pleases every body, and, they say, vexes France; insomuch that De l'Estrade, the French Embassador in Holland, when he heard it, told the States that he would have them not forget that his master is in the head of 100,000 men, and is but 28 years old; which was a great speech. The Bishop tells me he thinks that the

* Dr. William Fuller, translated from Limerick 1667.

† At Brampton.

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great business of Toleration will not, notwithstanding this talk, be carried this Parliament; nor for the King's taking away the Deans' and Chapters' lands to supply his wants, they signifying little to him if he had them for his present service.

27th. Mr. Povy do tell me how he is like to lose his 400*l.* a-year pension of the Duke of York, which he took in consideration of his place that was taken from him. He tells me the Duchesse is a devil against him, and do now come like Queene Elizabeth, and sits with the Duke of York's Council, and sees what they do; and she crosses out this man's wages and prices as she sees fit for saving money: but yet, he tells me, she reserves 5000*l.* a-year for her own spending; and my Lady Peterborough by and by tells me that the Duchesse do lay up mightily jewells.

28th. To White Hall; and by and by the Duke of York comes, and we had a little meeting, Anglesy, W. Pen, and I there, and none else: and, among other things, did discourse of the want of discipline in the fleet; which the Duke of York confessed, and yet said that he while he was there did keep it in a good measure, but that it was now lost when he was absent; but he will

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endeavour to have it again. That he did tell the Prince and Duke of Albemarle they would lose all order by making such and such men commanders, which they would because they were stout men: he told them it was a reproach to the nation, as if there were no sober men among us, that were stout, to be had. That they did put out some men for cowards that the Duke of York had put in, but little before, for stout men; and would now, were he to go to sea again, entertain them in his own division to choose: and did put in an idle fellow, Greene, who was hardly thought fit for a boatswain by him; they did put him from being a lieutenant to a captain's place of a second-rate ship; as idle a drunken fellow, he said, as any was in the fleet. That he will now desire the King to let him be what he is, that is, Admirall; and he will put in none but those that he hath great reason to think well of; and particularly says that though he likes Colonel Legg well, yet his son that was, he knows not how, made a captain after he had been but one voyage at sea, he should go to sea another apprenticeship before ever he gives him a command. We did tell him of the many defects and disorders among the captains, and I prayed we might do it in writing to

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him; which he liked; and I am glad of an opportunity of doing it. My wife this day hears from her father and mother: they are in France, at Paris; he, poor good man! thankful for my small charities to him.

29th. To Sir W. Coventry. He tells me he hath no friends in the whole Court but my Lord Keeper and Sir John Duncomb. They have reduced the charges of Ireland about 70,000*l.* a-year, and thereby cut off good profits from my Lord Lieutenant; which will make a new enemy, but he cares not. He tells me that Townsend, of the Wardrobe, is the veriest knave and bufflehead that ever he saw.

30th. I first heard that my cosen Pepys, of Salisbury Court, was Marshall to my Lord Coke when he was Lord Chief Justice; which beginning of his I did not know to be so low; but so it was, it seems.

31st. Up; and by coach, with W. Griffin with me, and our Contract-books, to Durham Yard, to the Commissioners for Accounts; the first time I ever was there; and staid awhile before I was admitted to them. I did observe a great many people attending about complaints of seamen concerning tickets, and among others Mr. Carcasse,

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and Mr. Martin my purser. And I observe a fellow, one Collins, is there, who is employed by these Commissioners particularly to hold an office in Bishopsgate-street, or somewhere thereabouts, to receive complaints of all people about tickets: and I believe he will have work enough. Presently I was called in; where I found the whole number of Commissioners, and was there received with great respect and kindness; and did give them great satisfaction, making it my endeavour to inform them what it was they were to expect from me, and what was the duty of other people; this being my only way to preserve myself, after all my pains and trouble. They did ask many questions, and demanded other books of me, which I did give them very ready and acceptable answers to; and, upon the whole, I do observe they do go about their business like men resolved to go through with it, and in a very good method, like men of understanding. They have Mr. Jessop their secretary: and it is pretty to see that they are fain to find out an old-fashioned man of Cromwell's to do their business for them, as well as the Parliament to pitch upon such for the most part in the lowest of people that were brought into the House for Commissioners. I went away

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giving and receiving great satisfaction: and so to White Hall, to the Commissioners of the Treasury; where waiting some time, I there met with Colonell Birch: and he and I fell into discourse; and I did give him thanks for his kindness to me in the Parliament-house, both before my face and behind my back. He told me that he knew me to be a man of the old way of taking pains, and did always endeavour to do me right, and prevent any thing that was moved that might tend to my injury; which I was obliged to him for, and thanked him. Thence to talk of other things, and the want of money: and he told me of the general want of money in the country; that land sold for nothing, and the many pennyworths he knows of lands and houses upon them, with good titles in his country, at 16 years' purchase: "And," says he, "though I am in debt, yet I have a mind to one thing, and that is a Bishop's lease:" but said, "I will yet choose such a lease before any other, because I know they cannot stand, and then it will fall into the King's hands, and I in possession shall have an advantage by it." Says he, "I know they must fall, and they are now near it, taking all the ways they can to undo themselves, and showing us the way:" and

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thereupon told me a story of the present quarrel between the Bishop * and Dean † of Coventry and Lichfield; the former of whom did excommunicate the latter, and caused his excommunication to be read in the church while he was there: and after it was read, the Dean made the service be gone through with, though himself an excommunicate was present (which is contrary to the Canon), and said he would justify the quire therein against the Bishop: and so they are at law in the Arches about it; which is a very pretty story. He tells me that the King is for Toleration, though the Bishops be against it; and that he do not doubt but it will be carried in Parliament: but that he fears some will stand for the tolerating of Papists with the rest; and that he knows not what to say, but rather thinks that the sober party will be without it rather than have it upon those terms; and I do believe so. It is observed, and is true, in the late fire of London, that the fire burned just as many parish-churches as there were hours from the beginning to the end of the fire; and next, that there were just as many churches left standing as there were taverns left standing in the rest of the City that

* John Hacket. † Henry Greswold, A. M.

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was not burned, being, I think, thirteen in all of each: which is pretty to observe.

February 1st. To the office till past two o'clock; where at the Board some high words passed between Sir W. Pen and I, begun by me, and yielded to by him, I being in the right in finding fault with him for his neglect of duty. Home, my head mighty full of business now on my hands: viz. of finishing my Tangier Accounts; of auditing my last year's Accounts; of preparing answers to the Commissioners of Accounts; of drawing up several important letters to the Duke of York and the Commissioners of the Treasury; the marrying of my sister; the building of a coach and stables against summer, and the setting many things in the office right; and the drawing up a new form of Contract with the Victualler of the Navy, and several other things, which pains, however, will go through with.

5th. Mr. Moore mightily commends my Lord Hinchingbroke's match and Lady, though he buys her 10,000*l.* dear, by the jointure and settlement his father makes her; and says that the Duke of York and Duchesse of York did come to see them in bed together on their wedding-night, and how my Lord had fifty pieces of gold taken out of his

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pocket that night after he was in bed. He tells me that an Act of Comprehension is likely to pass this Parliament for admitting of all persuasions in religion to the public observation of their particular worship, but in certain places, and the persons therein concerned to be listed of this or that church; which, it is thought, will do them more hurt than good, and make them not own their persuasion. He tells me that there is a pardon passed to the Duke of Buckingham, my Lord of Shrewsbury and the rest, for the late duell and murder; which he thinks a worse fault than any ill use my late Lord Chancellor ever put the great Seal to, and will be so thought by the Parliament, for them to be pardoned without bringing them to any trial: and that my Lord Privy-seale therefore would not have it pass his hand, but made it go by immediate warrant; or at least they knew that he would not pass it, and so did direct it to go by immediate warrant, that it might not come to him. He tells me what a character my Lord Sandwich hath sent over of Mr. Godolphin*; as the worthiest man, and such a friend to him as he may be

* Sidney Godolphin, Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles II.; made a Commissioner of the Treasury 1678-9, and in 1684 created Baron Godolphin.

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trusted in any thing relating to him in the world; as one whom, he says, he hath infallible assurances that he will remaine his friend: which is very high, but indeed they say the gentleman is a fine man.

6th. Sir H. Cholmly tells me how the Parliament (which is to meet again to-day) are likely to fall heavy on the business of the Duke of Buckingham's pardon; and I shall be glad of it: and that the King hath put out of the Court the two Hides, my Lord Chancellor's two sons, and also the Bishops of Rochester* and Winchester,† the latter of whom should have preached before him yesterday, being Ash-Wednesday, and had his sermon ready, but was put by; which is great news. My wife being gone before, I to the Duke of York's playhouse; where a new play of Etheridge's, called "She would if she could;" and though I was there by two o'clock, there was 1000 people put back that could not have room in the pit; and I at last, because my wife was there, made shift to get into the 18*d.* box, and there saw: but, Lord! how full was the house, and how silly the play, there being nothing in the world good in it, and few people pleased in it. The King was

* John Dolben. † George Morley.

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there; but I sat mightily behind, and could see but little, and hear not all. The play being done, I into the pit to look for my wife, it being dark and raining; but could not find her, and so staid going between the two doors and through the pit an hour and half, I think, after the play was done; the people staying there till the rain was over, and to talk one with another. And among the rest here was the Duke of Buckingham to-day openly sat in the pit; and there I found him with my Lord Buckhurst, and Sedley, aad Etheridge the poet; the last of whom I did hear mightily find fault with the actors, that they were out of humour and had not their parts perfect, and that Harris did do nothing, nor could so much as sing a ketch in it; and so was mightily concerned: while all the rest did through the whole pit blame the play as a silly, dull thing, though there was something very roguish and witty; but the design of the play and end mighty insipid. At last I did find my wife.

7th. Met my cosen Roger Pepys, (the Parliament meeting yesterday and adjourned to Monday next;) and here he tells me that Mr. Jackson my sister's servant is come to town, and hath this day suffered a recovery on his estate in order to

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the making her a settlement. There is a great triall between my Lord Gerard and Carr to-day, who is indicted for his life at the King's Bench for running from his colours; but all do say that my Lord Gerard, though he designs the ruin of this man, will not get any thing by it. Met my cosen Roger again, and Mr. Jackson, who is a plain young man, handsome enough for her,* one of no education nor discourse, but of few words, and one altogether that, I think, will please me well enough. My cosen had got me to give the odd sixth 100*l.* presently, which I intended to keep to the birth of the first child: and let it go —I shall be eased of the care. So there parted, my mind pretty well satisfied with this plain fellow for my sister; though I shall, I see, have no pleasure nor content in him, as if he had been a man of reading and parts, like Cumberland.

8th. The great talk is of Carr's coming off in all his trials, to the disgrace of my Lord Gerard to that degree, and the ripping up of so many notorious rogueries and cheats of my Lord's, that my Lord, it is thought, will be ruined: and above all do show the madness of the House of Commons, who rejected the petition of this poor man

* Paulina Pepys.

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by a combination of a few in the House; and, much more, the base proceedings (just the epitome of all our publick managements in this age) of the House of Lords, that ordered him to stand in the pillory for those very things, without hearing and examining what he hath now, by the seeking of my Lord Gerard himself, cleared himself of in open Court, to the gaining himself the pity of all the world, and shame for ever to my Lord Gerard.

10th. Made a visit to Mr. Godolphin at his chamber; and I do find him a very pretty and able person, a man of very fine parts, and of infinite zeal to my Lord Sandwich; and one that says, he is (he believes) as wise and able a person as any prince in the world hath. He tells me that he meets with unmannerly usage by Sir Robert Southwell,* in Portugall, who would sign with him in his negociations there, being a forward young man; but that my Lord mastered him in that point, it being ruled for my Lord here at a hearing of a Committee of the Council.

* He was knighted and sent as Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal 1665, and with the same rank to Brussels in 1671. He became afterwards Clerk to the Privy Council, and was five times elected President of the Royal Society. Ob. 1702, aged 60.



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He says that if my Lord can compass a peace between Spain and Portugall, and hath the doing of it and the honour himself, it will be a thing of more honour than ever any man had, and of as much advantage. Thence to Westminster Hall, where the Hall mighty full: and, among other things, the House begins to sit to-day, and the King came. But before the King's coming the House of Commons met; and upon information given them of a Bill intended to be brought in, as common report said, for Comprehension, they did mightily and generally inveigh against it, and did vote that the King should be desired by the House, and the message delivered by the Privy-counsellors of the House, that the laws against breakers of the Act for Uniformity should be put in execution: and it was moved in the House that if any people had a mind to bring any new laws into the House about religion, they might come as a proposer of new laws did in Athens, with ropes about their necks. By and by the King comes to the Lords' House, and there tells them of his league with Holland, and the necessity of a fleet, and his debts; and, therefore, want of money; and his desire that they would think of some way to bring in all his Protestant

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subjects to a right understanding and peace one with another; meaning the Bill of Comprehension. The Commons coming to their House, it was moved that the vote passed this morning might be suspended, because of the King's Speech, till the House was full and called over, two days hence: but it was denied, so furious they are against this Bill; and thereby a great blow either given to the King or Presbyters, or, which is the rather of the two, to the House itself, by denying a thing desired by the King, and so much desired by much the greater part of the nation. Whatever the consequence be, if the King be a man of any stomach and heat, all do believe that he will resent this vote. Read over and agreed upon the deed of settlement to our minds: my sister to have 600*l.* presently, and she to be joyntured in 60*l.* per annum; wherein I am very well satisfied.

11th. To Pemberton's* chamber. It was pretty here to see the heaps of money upon this lawyer's table; and more, to see how he had not since last night spent any time upon our business, but begun with telling us that we were not at all concerned

* Francis Pemberton, afterwards knighted, and made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1679.



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in that Act; which was a total mistake, by his not having read over the Act at all.

12th. My cosen Roger told me the pleasant passage of a fellow's bringing a bag of letters to-day into the lobby of the House, where he left them, and withdrew himself without observation. The bag being opened, the letters were found all of one size, and directed with one hand: a letter to most of the Members of the House. The House was acquainted with it, and voted they should be brought in and one opened by the Speaker; wherein if he found any thing unfit to communicate, to propose a Committee to be chosen for it. The Speaker opening one, found it only a case with a libell in it, printed: a satire most sober and bitter as ever I read; and every letter was the same. So the House fell a-scrambling for them like boys; and my cosen Roger had one directed to him, which he lent me to read.

13th. Mr. Brisband tells me in discourse that Tom Killigrew hath a fee out of the Wardrobe for cap and bells, under the title of the King's Foole or Jester; and may revile or jeere any body, the greatest person, without offence, by the privilege of his place. This morning Sir G. Carteret come to the office to see and talk with me:

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and he assures me that to this day the King is the most kind man to my Lord Sandwich in the whole world; that he himself do not now mind any publick business, but suffers things to go on at Court as they will, he seeing all likely to come to ruin: that this morning the Duke of York sent to him to come to make up one of a Committee of the Council for Navy Affairs; upon which, when he came, he told the Duke of York that he was none of them: which shows how things are now-a-days ordered, that there should be a Committee for the Navy, and the Lord Admirall knows not the persons of it; and that Sir G. Carteret and my Lord Anglesy should be left out of it, and men wholly improper put into it. I do hear of all hands that there is great difference at this day between my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry; which I am sorry for.

14th. I to my office to perfect my Narrative about prize-goods; and did carry it to the Commissioners of Accounts, who did receive it with great kindness, and express great value of and respect to me: and my heart is at rest that it is lodged there in so full truth and plainness, though it may hereafter prove some loss to me. But here I do see they are entered into many enquiries

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about prizes, by the great attendance of commanders and others before them; which is a work I am not sorry for. Thence I away, with my head busy but my heart at pretty good ease, to visit Colonell Thomson, one of the Committee of Accounts; who among the rest is mighty kind to me, and is likely to mind our business more than any; and I would be glad to have a good understanding with him. Thence after dinner to White Hall to attend the Duke of York; where I did let him know too the troublesome life we lead, and particularly myself, by being obliged to such attendances every day as I am, on one Committee or other. And I do find the Duke of York himself troubled, and willing not to be troubled with occasions of having his name used among the Parliament; though he himself do declare that he did give directions to Lord Brouncker to discharge the men at Chatham by ticket, and will own it if the House call for it, but not else. Thence I attended the King and Council, and some of the rest of us, in a business to be heard about the value of a ship of one Dorrington's. And it was pretty to observe how Sir W. Pen, making use of this argument against the validity of an oath, against the King, being made by the master's

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mate of the ship, who was but a fellow of about 23 years of age; the master of the ship, against whom we pleaded, did say that he did think himself at that age capable of being master's mate of any ship; and do know that he, Sir W. Pen, was so himself, and in no better degree at that age himself: which word did strike Sir W. Pen mad, and made him open his mouth no more; and I saw the King and Duke of York wink at one another at it. This done, we into the Gallery; and there I walked with several people, and among others my Lord Brouncker; who I do find under much trouble still about the business of the tickets, his very case being brought in, as is said, this day in the Report of the Miscarriages. And he seems to lay much of it on me, which I did clear and satisfy him in; and would be glad with all my heart to serve him in, and have done it more than he hath done for himself, he not deserving the least blame, but commendations, for this. I met with my cosen Roger Pepys and Creed; and from them understand that the Report was read to-day of the Miscarriages, wherein my Lord Sandwich is named about the business I mentioned this morning; but I will be at rest, for it can do him no hurt Our business of tickets is

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soundly up, and many others: so they went over them again, and spent all the morning on the first, which is the dividing of the fleet; wherein hot work was, and that among great men, Privy-counsellors, and, they say, Sir W. Coventry; but I do not much fear it, but do hope that it will show a little of the Duke of Albemarle and the Prince to have been advisers in it: but whereas they ordered that the King's Speech should be considered to-day, they took no notice of it at all, but are really come to despise the King in all possible ways of showing it. And it was the other day a strange saying, as I am told by my cosen Roger Pepys, in the House, when it was moved that the King's Speech should be considered, that though the first part of the Speech, meaning the league that is there talked of, be the only good publick thing that hath been done since the King come into England, yet it might bear with being put off to consider till Friday next, which was this day. Secretary Morrice did this day in the House, when they talked of intelligence, say that he was allowed but 700*l.* a-year for intelligence; whereas in Cromwell's time he did allow 70,000*l.* a-year for it; and was confirmed therein by Colonell Birch, who said that thereby Cromwell

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carried the secrets of all the princes of Europe at his girdle. The House is in a most broken condition; nobody adhering to any thing, but reviling and finding fault: and now quite mad at the Undertakers, as they are commonly called, Littleton, Lord Vaughan, Sir R. Howard, and others that are brought over to the Court, and did undertake to get the King money: but they despise and will not hear them in the House; and the Court do as much, seeing that they cannot be useful to them, as was expected. In short, it is plain that the King will never be able to do any thing with this Parliament; and that the only likely way to do better (for it cannot do worse) is to break this and call another Parliament; and some do think that it is intended. I was told to-night that my Lady Castlemaine is so great a gamester as to have won 15,000*l.* in one night, and lost 25,000*l.* in another night at play, and hath played 1000*l.* and 1500*l.* at a cast.

16th. Mr. Hollier * dined with my wife and me. Much discourse about the bad state of the Church, and how the Clergy are come to be men of no worth in the world; and, as the world do now generally discourse, they must be re-

* He was a Surgeon.

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formed: and I believe the Hierarchy will in a little time be shaken, whether they will or no; the King being offended with them and set upon it, as I hear.

17th. Great high words in the House on Saturday last upon the first part of the Committee's Report about the dividing of the fleet; wherein some would have the counsels of the King to be declared, and the reasons of them, and who did give them; where Sir W. Coventry laid open to them the consequences of doing that, that the King would never have any honest and wise men ever to be of his Council. They did here in the House talk boldly of the King's bad Counsellors, and how they must all be turned out, and many others, and better brought in: and the proceedings of the Long-Parliament in the beginning of the war were called to memory; and the King's bad intelligence was mentioned, wherein they were bitter against my Lord Arlington, saying, among other things, that whatever Morrice's was, who declared he had but 750*l.* a-year allowed him for intelligence, the King paid too dear for my Lord Arlington's in giving him 10,000*l.* and a Barony for it. Sir W. Coventry did here

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come to his defence in the business of the letter that was sent to call back Prince Rupert after he was divided from the fleet, wherein great delay was objected; but he did show that he sent it at one in the morning, when the Duke of York did give him the instructions after supper that night, and did clear himself well of it: only it was laid as a fault, which I know not how he removes, of not sending it by an express, but by the ordinary post; it coming not to Sir Philip Honiwood's hand at Portsmouth till four in the afternoon that day, being about fifteen or sixteen hours in going. The dividing of the fleet however is, I hear, voted a miscarriage, and the not building a fortification at Sheernesse: and I have resson every hour to expect that they will vote the like of our paying men off by ticket; and what the consequence of that will be, I know not.

18th. Sir W. Coventry and I did look over the list of commanders, and found that we could presently recollect thirty-seven commanders that have been killed in actuall service this war. He tells me that Sir Fr. Hollis is the main man that hath prosecuted him hitherto in the business of dividing the fleet, saying vainly that the want

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of that letter to the Prince hath given him that that he shall remember it by to his grave, meaning the loss of his arme;* when, God knows, he is as idle and insignificant a fellow as ever came into the fleet. I well remember what in mirth he said to me this morning, when upon this discourse he said if ever there was another Dutch war they should not find a Secretary; "Nor," said I, "a Clerk of the Acts, for I see the reward of it; and, thank God, I have enough of my own to buy me a good book and a good fiddle, and I have a good wife;"—"Why," says he, "I have enough to buy me a good book, and shall not need a fiddle, because I have never a one of your good wives." This morning the House is upon a Bill, brought in to-day by Sir Richard Temple, for obliging the King to call Parliaments every three years; or if he fail, for others to be obliged to do it, and to keep him from a power of dissolving any Parliament in less than forty days after their first day of sitting: which is such a Bill as do speak very high proceedings to the lessening of the King; and this they will carry, and whatever else they desire, before they will

* *Vide* Note June 10, 1667.

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give any money; and the King must have money, whatever it cost him. I to see Kate Joyce; where I find her and her friends in great ease of mind, the Jury having this day given in their verdict that her husband died of a fever. Some opposition there was, the foreman pressing them to declare the cause of the fever, thinking thereby to obstruct it; but they did adhere to their verdict, and would give no reason: so all trouble is now over, and she safe in her estate.

19th. In the evening to White Hall; where I find Sir W. Coventry a great while with the Duke of York in the King's drawing-room, they two talking together all alone; which did mightily please me. I do hear how La Roche, a French captain, who was once prisoner here, being with his ship at Plymouth, hath played some freakes there, for which his men being beat out of the town, he hath put up a flag of defiance, and also somewhere there about did land with his men and go a mile into the country, and did some prank; which sounds pretty odd to our disgrace, but we are in condition now to bear any thing. But, blessed be God! all the Court is full of good news of my Lord Sandwich's having made a peace between Spain and Portugall; which is mighty

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great news, and above all to my Lord's honour more than any thing he ever did; and yet I do fear it will not prevail to secure him in Parliament against incivilities there.

20th. The House most of the morning upon the business of not prosecuting the first victory; which they have voted one of the greatest miscarriages of the whole war, though they cannot lay the fault any where yet, because Harman is not come home. Dined, and by one o'clock to the King's house: a new play, "The Duke of Lerma," of Sir Robert Howard's: where the King and Court was; and Knipp and Nell spoke the prologue most excellently, especially Knipp, who spoke beyond any creature I ever heard. The play designed to reproach our King with his mistresses, that I was troubled for it, and expected it should be interrupted; but it ended all well, which salved all.

21st. The House this day is still as backward for giving any money as ever, and do declare they will first have an account of the disposals of the last Poll-bill, and eleven months' tax. And it is pretty odde that the very first sum mentioned in the account brought in by Sir Robert Long of the disposal of the Poll-bill money is 5000*l.* to my

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Lord Arlington for intelligence; which was mighty unseasonable, so soon after they had so much cried out against his want of intelligence. The King do also own but 250,000*l.* or thereabouts yet paid on the Poll-bill, and that he hath charged 350,000*l.* upon it. This makes them mad; for that the former Poll-bill, that was so much less in its extent than the last, which took in all sexes and qualities, did come to 350,000*l.* Upon the whole, I perceive they are like to do nothing in this matter to please the King, or relieve the State, be the case never so pressing; and therefore it is thought by a great many that the King cannot be worse if he should dissolve them; but there is nobody dares advise it, nor do he consider any thing himself. My cosen Roger Pepys showed me Granger's written confession, of his being forced by imprisonment, &c. by my Lord Gerard, most barbarously to confess his forging of a deed in behalf of Fitton, in the great case between him and my Lord Gerard; which business is under examination, and is the foulest against my Lord Gerard that ever any thing in the world was, and will, all do believe, ruine him; and I shall be glad of it.

22d. To the Duke's playhouse, and there saw

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"Alblemanazar,"* an old play, this the second time of acting. It is said to have been the ground of B. Jonson's "Alchymist;" but, saving the ridiculousnesse of Angell's part, which is called Trinkilo, I do not see any thing extraordinary in it, but was indeed weary of it before it was done. The King here; and indeed all of us pretty merry at the mimique tricks of Trinkilo.

23d. I met with Sir W. Coventry, and he and I walked awhile together in the Matted Gallery; and there he told me all the proceedings yesterday: that the matter is found in general a miscarriage, but no persons named; and so there is no great matter to our prejudice yet, till, if ever, they come to particular persons. He told me Birch was very industrious to do what he could, and did like a friend; but they were resolved to find the thing in general a miscarriage: and says, that when we shall think fit to desire its being heard, as to our own defence, it will be granted. He tells me how he hath with advantage cleared himself in what concerns himself therein, by his servant Robson; which I am glad of. He tells me that there is a letter sent by conspiracy to

* Albumazar, a comedy, by Tomkins of Trin. Coll. Cambridge.

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some of the House, which he hath seen, about the manner of selling of places; which he do believe he shall be called upon to-morrow for: and thinks himself well prepared to defend himself in it; and then neither he nor his friends for him are afraid of any thing to his prejudice. Thence by coach with Brisband to Sir G. Carteret's, in Lincoln's Inn-fields, and there dined: a good dinner and good company. And after dinner he and I alone, discoursing of my Lord Sandwich's matters; who hath, in the first business before the House, been very kindly used beyond expectation, the matter being laid by till his coming home: and old Mr. Vaughan did speak for my Lord; which I am mighty glad of. The business of the prizes is the worst that can be said, and therein I do fear something may lie hard upon him; but against this we must prepare the best we can for his defence. Thence with Sir G. Carteret to White Hall; where finding a meeting of the Committee of the Council for the Navy, his Royal Highness there, and Sir W. Pen, and some of the Brethren of the Trinity House to attend, I did go in with them. And it was to be informed of the practice heretofore, for all foreign nations at enmity one with another to forbear any acts of hostility to



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one another in the presence of any of the King of England's ships; of which several instances were given: and it is referred to their further enquiry, in order to the giving instructions accordingly to our ships now during the war between Spain and France. Would to God we were in the same condition as heretofore, to challenge and maintain this our dominion! Thence with W. Pen homeward, and quite through to Mile End for a little ayre; the days being now prètty long, but the ways mighty dirty. Going back again, Sir R. Brookes overtook us coming to town; who played the jacke with us all, and is a fellow that I must trust no more, he quoting me for all he hath said in this business of tickets; though I have told him nothing that either is not true, or I afraid to own. But here talking he did discourse in this stile: "We," and We all along, "will not give any money, be the pretence never so great, nay, though the enemy was in the River of Thames again, till we know what is become of the last money given." And I do believe he do speak the mind of his fellows; and so let him. This evening my wife did with great pleasure show me her stock of jewells, encreased by the ring she hath made lately as my Valentine's gift this year, a

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Turky stone set with diamonds: and with this, and what she had, she reckons that she hath above 150*l.* worth of jewells of one kind or other; and I am glad of it, for it is fit the wretch should have something to content herself with.

24th. Meeting Dr. Gibbons,* he and I to see an organ at the Dean of Westminster's lodgings at the Abby, the Bishop of Rochester's;† where he lives like a great prelate, his lodgings being very good; though at present under great disgrace at Court, being put by his Clerk of the Closet's place. I saw his lady, of whom the *Terræ Filius* of Oxford was once so merry; and two children, whereof one a very pretty little boy, like him, so fat and black. Here I saw the organ; but it is too big for my house, and the fashion do not please me enough; and therefore I will not have it. To the Nursery, where none of us ever were before; where the house is better and the musique better than we looked for, and the acting not much worse, because I expected as bad as could be: and I was not much mistaken, for it

* Christopher Gibbons, Organist to the King and of Westminster Abbey. He was admitted Doctor of Music at Oxford 1664, and died 1676.

† John Dolben; afterwards translated to York.



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was so. I was prettily served this day at the playhouse-door; where, giving six shillings into the fellow's hand for three of us, the fellow by legerdemain did convey one away, and with so much grace faced me down that I did give him but five, that, though I knew the contrary, yet I was overpowered by his so grave and serious demanding the other shilling, that I could not deny him, but was forced by myself to give it him.

26th. To Westminster Hall, where, it being now about six o'clock, I find the House just risen; and met with Sir W. Coventry and the Lieutenant of the Tower, they having sat all day; and with great difficulty have got a vote for giving the King 300,000*l.*, not to be raised by any land-tax. The sum is much smaller than I expected, and than the King needs; but is grounded upon Mr. Wren's reading our estimates the other day of 270,000*l.* to keep the fleet abroad, wherein we demanded nothing for setting and fitting of them out, which will cost almost 200,000*l.* I do verily believe: and do believe that the King hath no cause to thank Wren for this motion. I home to Sir W. Coventry's lodgings with him and the Lieutenant of the Tower, where also was Sir John Coventry,

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and Sir John Duncomb, and Sir Job Charleton.* And here a great deal of good discourse: and they seem mighty glad to have this vote pass; which I did wonder at, to see them so well satisfied with so small a sum, Sir John Duncomb swearing (as I perceive he will freely do) that it was as much as the nation could beare.

27th. With my wife to the King's House to see "The Virgin Martyr,"† the first time it hath been acted a great while: and it is mighty pleasant; not that the play is worth much, but it is finely acted by Beck Marshall. But that which did please me beyond any thing in the whole world, was the wind-musique when the angel comes down; which is so sweet that it ravished me, and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife; that neither then, nor all the evening going home, and at home, I was able to think of any thing, but remained all night transported, so as I could not believe that

* M. P. for Ludlow; and in 1663 elected Speaker, which office he resigned on account of ill health. He was successively King's Serjeant, Chief Justice of Chester, and a Justice of the Common Pleas; created a Baronet, 1686, and ob. 1697.

† A Tragedy, by Massinger.

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ever any musique hath that real command over the soul of a man as this did upon me; and makes me resolve to practice wind-musique, and to make my wife do the like.

28th. After dinner with Sir W. Pen to White Hall, where we and the rest of us presented a great letter of the state of our want of money to his Royal Highness. I did also present a demand of mine for consideration for my travelling-charges of coach and boat-hire during the war: which, though his Royal Highness and the company did all like of, yet, contrary to my expectation, I find him so jealous now of doing any thing extraordinary, that he desired the gentlemen that they would consider it, and report their minds in it to him. This did unsettle my mind a great while, not expecting this stop: but, however, I shall do as well, I know, though it causes me a little stop. But that that troubles me most is, that while we were thus together with the Duke of York, comes in Mr. Wren from the House; where, he tells us, another storm hath been all this day almost against the officers of the Navy upon this complaint,—that though they have made good rules for payment of tickets, yet that they have not observed them themselves; which was driven so high as to have

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it urged that we should presently be put out of our places: and so they have at last ordered that we shall be heard at the bar of the House upon this business on Thursday next. This did mightily trouble me and us all; but me particularly, who am least able to bear these troubles, though I have the least cause to be concerned in it. Thence therefore to visit Sir H. Cholmly, who hath for some time been ill of a cold; and thence walked towards Westminster, and met Colonell Birch, who took me back to walk with him, and did give me an account of this day's heat against the Navy-officers, and an account of his speech on our behalf, which was very good. And indeed we are much beholden to him, as I, after I parted with him, did find by my cosen Roger, whom I went to: and he and I to his lodgings. And there he did tell me the same over again; and how Birch did stand up in our defence; and that he do see that there are many desirous to have us out of the office; and the House is so furious and passionate that he thinks nobody can be secure, let him deserve never so well. But now, he tells me, we shall have a fair hearing of the House, and he hopes justice of them: but upon the whole, he do agree with me that I should hold my hand as to

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making any purchase of land, which I had formerly discoursed with him about, till we see a little further how matters go. He tells me that what made them so mad to-day first was, several letters in the House about the Fanatickes in several places coming in great bodies and turning people out of the churches, and there preaching themselves, and pulling the surplice over the parsons' heads: this was confirmed from several places; which makes them stark mad, especially the hectors and bravadoes of the House, who show all the zeal on this occasion.

29th. They tell me how Sir Thomas Allen hath taken the Englishmen out of La Roche's ship, and taken from him an Ostend prize which La Roche had fetched out of our harbours. And at this day La Roche keeps upon our coasts; and had the boldness to land some men and go a mile up into the country, and there took some goods belonging to this prize out of a house there: which our King resents, and, they say, hath wrote to the King of France about. And every body do think a war will follow; and then in what a case we shall be for want of money, nobody knows. Wrote to my father, and sent him Colvill's note for 600*l.* for my sister's portion.

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March 1st. Lord's-day. Up very betimes, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's; and there largely carrying with me all my notes and papers, did run over our whole defence in the business of tickets, in order to the answering the House on Thursday next; and I do think, unless they be set without reason to ruin us, we shall make a good defence. I find him in great anxiety, though he will not discover it, in the business of the proceedings of Parliament; and would as little as is possible have his name mentioned in our discourse to them. And particularly the business of selling places is now upon his hand to defend himself in; wherein I did help him in his defence about the flag-maker's place, which is named in the House. We did here do the like about the complaint of want of victuals in the fleet in the year 1666, which will lie upon me to defend also.

2d. Mr. Moore was with me, and do tell me, and so W. Hewer tells me, he hears this morning that all the town is full of the discourse that the officers of the Navy shall be all turned out, but honest Sir John Minnes; who, God knows, is fitter to have been turned out himself than any of us, doing the King more hurt by his dotage and folly than all the rest can do by their

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knavery, if they had a mind to it. This day I have the news that my sister was married on Thursday last to Mr. Jackson; so that work is, I hope, well over.

3d. Up betimes to work again, and then met at the office, where to our great business of this answer to the Parliament; where to my great vexation I find my Lord Brouncker prepared only to excuse himself, while I, that have least reason to trouble myself, am preparing with great pains to defend them all: and more, I perceive he would lodge the beginning of discharging ships by ticket upon me; but I care not, for I believe I shall get more honour by it when the Parliament against my will shall see how the whole business of the office was done by me. Down by water to Deptford; where the King, Queene, and Court are to see launched the new ship built by Mr. Shish, called "The Charles." God send her better luck than the former! Here some of our brethren, who went in a boat a little before my boat, did by appointment take opportunity of asking the King's leave that we might make full use of the want of money in our excuse to the Parliament for the business of tickets and other things they will lay to our charge, all which

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arise from nothing else: and this the King did readily agree to, and did give us leave to make our full use of it. The ship being well launched, I back again by boat

5th. To Westminster; where I found myself come time enough, and my brethren all ready. But I full of thoughts and trouble touching the issue of this day: and to comfort myself did go to the Dog and drink half-a-pint of mulled sack, and in the hall did drink a dram of brandy at Mrs. Hewlett's; and with the warmth of this did find myself in better order as to courage, truly. So we all up to the lobby; and between eleven and twelve o'clock were called in, with the mace before us, into the House; where a mighty full House: and we stood at the bar; namely, Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes, Sir T. Harvey, and myself, W. Pen being in the House as a Member. I perceive the whole House was full of expectation of our defence what it would be, and with great prejudice. After the Speaker had told us the dissatisfaction of the House, and read the Report of the Committee, I began our defence most acceptably and smoothly, and continued at it without any hesitation or losse, but with full scope, and all my reason free about me, as if it

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had been at my own table, from that time till past three in the afternoon; and so ended, without any interruption from the Speaker; but we withdrew. And there all my fellow-officers, and all the world that was within hearing, did congratulate me, and cry up my speech as the best thing they ever heard; and my fellow-officers were overjoyed in it. And we were called in again by and by to answer only one question touching our paying tickets to ticket-mongers: and so out. And we were in hopes to have had a vote this day in our favour, and so the generality of the House was; but my speech being so long, many had gone out to dinner and come in again half-drunk. And then there are two or three that are professed enemies to us and every body else; among others, Sir T. Littleton, Sir Thomas Lee,* Mr. Wiles (the coxcomb whom I saw heretofore at the cock-fighting), and a few others: I say, these did rise up and speak against the coming to a vote now, the House not being full by reason of several being at dinner, but most because that the House was to attend the King this afternoon about the business of religion (wherein they pray him to put in force all the

* Of Hartwell, Bucks; created a Baronet 1660.

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laws against Nonconformists and Papists): and this prevented it, so that they put it off to to-morrow come se'nnight. However, it is plain we have got great ground; and every body says I have got the most honour that any could have had opportunity of getting: and so our hearts mightily overjoyed at this success. After dinner to the King's house, and there saw part of "The Discontented Colonell."*

6th. Up betimes, and with Sir D. Gauden to Sir W. Coventry's chamber; where the first word he said to me was, "Good-morrow, Mr. Pepys, that must be Speaker of the Parliament-house:" and did protest I had got honour for ever in Parliament. He said that his brother, that sat by him, admires me; and another gentleman said that I could not get less than 1000*l.* a-year, if I would put on a gown and plead at the Chancery-bar. But, what pleases me most, he tells me that the Solicitor-generall did protest that he thought I spoke the best of any man in England. After several talks with him alone touching his own businesses, he carried me to White Hall; and there parted. And I to the Duke of York's lodgings,

* Brennoralt, or The Discontented Colonel; a tragedy, by Sir John Suckling.

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and find him going to the Parke, it being a very fine morning; and I after him: and as soon as he saw me, he told me with great satisfaction that I had converted a great many yesterday, and did with great praise of me go on with the discourse with me. And by and by overtaking the King, the King and Duke of York came to me both; and he* said, "Mr. Pepys, I am very glad of your success yesterday:". and fell to talk of my well speaking. And many of the Lords there. My Lord Barkeley did cry me up for what they had heard of it; and others, Parliament-men there about the King, did say that they never heard such a speech in their lives delivered in that manner. Progers of the Bedchamber swore to me afterwards before Brouncker, in the afternoon, that he did tell the King that he thought I might match the Solicitor-generall. Every body that saw me almost came to me, as Joseph Williamson and others, with such eulogys as cannot be expressed. From thence I went to Westminster Hall; where I met Mr. G. Montagu, who came to me and kissed me, and told me that he had often heretofore kissed my hands, but now he would kiss my lips; protesting that I was another

* The King.

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Cicero, and said, all the world said the same of me. Mr. Ashburnham, and every creature I met there of the Parliament, or that knew any thing of the Parliament's actings, did salute me with this honour: Mr. Godolphin; Mr. Sands, who swore he would go twenty miles at any time to hear the like again, and that he never saw so many sit four hours together to hear any man in his life as there did to hear me. Mr. Chichly, Sir John Duncomb, and every body do say that the kingdom will ring of my abilities, and that I have done myself right for my whole life; and so Captain Cocke and others of my friends say that no man had ever such an opportunity of making his abilities known. And that I may cite all at once, Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower did tell me that Mr. Vaughan did protest to him, and that in his hearing it said so to the Duke of Albemarle, and afterwards to Sir W. Coventry, that he had sat twenty-six years in Parliament and never heard such a speech there before: for which the Lord God make me thankful; and that I may make use of it, not to pride and vain-glory, but that, now I have this esteem, I may do nothing that may lessen it! To White Hall to wait on the Duke of York; where he again and all the

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company magnified me, and several in the Gallery: among others, my Lord Gerard, who never knew me before nor spoke to me, desires his being better acquainted with me; and that, at table where he was, he never heard so much said of any man as of me in his whole life. So waited on the Duke of York, and thence into the Gallery, where the House of Lords waited the King's coming out of the Park; which he did by and by. And there in the Vane-roome my Lord Keeper delivered a Message to the King, the Lords being about him, wherein the Barons of England, from many good arguments very well expressed in the part he read out of, do demand precedence in England of all noblemen of either of the King's other two kingdoms, be their title what it will; and did show that they were in England reputed but as Commoners, and sat in the House of Commons, and at conferences with the Lords did stand bare. It was mighty worth my hearing; but the King did say only that he would consider of it, and so dismissed them.

8th. With Sir W. Coventry, who I find full of care in his own business, how to defend himself against those that have a mind to choque him; and though I believe not for honour and

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for the keeping his employment, but for safety and reputation's sake, is desirous to preserve himself free from blame.

9th. By coach to White Hall, and there met Lord Brouncker: and he and I to the Commissioners of the Treasury; where I find them mighty kind to me, more, I think, than was wont. And here I also met Colvill the goldsmith; who tells me, with great joy, how the world upon the 'Change talks of me; and how several Parliament-men, viz. Boscawen * and Major Walden of Huntingdon, who it seems do deal with him, do say how bravely I did speak, and that the House was ready to have given me thanks for it: but that, I think, is a vanity.

10th. With Sir D. Gauden homewards, calling at Lincolne's Inn-fields. But my Lady Jemimah was not within: and so to Newgate, where he stopped to give directions to the jaylor about a Knight, one Sir Thomas Halford,† brought in yesterday for killing one Colonell Temple, falling out at a taverne. Home; and there comes Mr. Moore to me; who tells me that he fears my Lord Sandwich will meet with very great difficul-

* Edward Boscawen, M. P. for Truro.

† Of Welham, Leicestershire, Baronet.



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ties to go through about the prizes, it being found that he did give orders for more than the King's letter do justify; and then for the Act of Resumption, which he fears will go on, and is designed only to do him hurt; which troubles me much. He tells me he believes the Parliament will not be brought to do any thing in matters of religion, but will adhere to the Bishops.

11th. Meeting Mr. Colvill I walked with him to his building, where he is building a fine house, where he formerly lived, in Lumbard-street: and it will be a very fine street. So to Westminster; and there walked, till by and by comes Sir W. Coventry, and with him Mr. Chichly and Mr. Andrew Newport. I to dinner with them to Mr. Chichly's in Queene-street, in Covent Garden. A very fine house, and a man that lives in mighty great fashion, with all things in a most extraordinary manner noble and rich about him, and eats in the French fashion all; and mighty nobly served with his servants, and very civilly; that I was mighty pleased with it: and good discourse. He is a great defender of the Church of England, and against the Act for Comprehension; which is the work of this day, about which the House is like to sit till night. After dinner with

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them back to Westminster. Captain Cocke told me that the Speaker says he never heard such a defence made in all his life in the House, and that the Solicitor-generall do commend me even to envy.

12th. To Gresham College, there to show myself; and was there greeted by Dr. Wilkins, Whistler, and others, as the patron of the Navy-office, and one that got great fame by my late speech to the Parliament.

13th. At noon all of us to Chatelin, the French house in Covent Garden, to dinner; Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Pen, T. Harvey, and myself; and there had a dinner cost us 8*s.* 6*d.* a-piece, a base dinner, which did not please us at all. My head being full of to-morrow's dinner, I to my Lord Crewe's, there to invite Sir Thomas Crewe; and there met with my Lord Hinchingbroke and his lady, the first time I spoke to her. I saluted her; and she mighty civil: and, with my Lady Jemimah, do all resolve to be very merry to-morrow at my house. My Lady Hinchingbroke I cannot say is a beauty, nor ugly; but is altogether a comely lady enough, and seems very good-humoured. Thence home; and there find one laying of my napkins against to-morrow in figures of



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all sorts; which is mighty pretty; and it seems it is his trade, and he gets much money by it.

14th. Up very betimes, and with Jane to Levett's, there to conclude upon our dinner; and thence to the pewterer's to buy a pewter sesterne, which I have ever hitherto been without. Anon comes my company, viz. my Lord Hinchingbroke and his lady, Sir Philip Carteret and his lady, Godolphin and my cosen Roger, and Creed: and mighty merry; and by and by to dinner, which was very good and plentifull: (and I should have said, and Mr. George Montagu, who came at a very little warning, which was exceeding kind of him.) And there, among other things, my Lord had Sir Samuel Morland's late invention for casting up of sums of £. s. d.; which is very pretty, but not very useful. Most of our discourse was of my Lord Sandwich and his family, as being all of us of the family. And with extraordinary pleasure all the afternoon, thus together eating and looking over my closet: and my Lady Hinchingbroke I find a very sweet-natured and well-disposed lady, a lover of books and pictures, and of good understanding. About five o'clock they went; and then my wife and I abroad by coach into Moore-fields, only for a little ayre.

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15th. Walked with Sir W. Coventry into the Park, and there met the King and the Duke of York, and walked a good while with them: and here met Sir Jer. Smith, who tells me he is like to get the better of Holmes, and that when he is come to an end of that he will do Hollis's business for him in the House for his blasphemies; which I shall be glad of. So to White Hall, and there walked with this man and that man till chapel done and the King dined: and then Sir Thomas Clifford the Comptroller took me with him to dinner to his lodgings, where my Lord Arlington and a great deal of good and great company; where I very civilly used by them, and had a most excellent dinner. And good discourse of Spain, Mr. Godolphin being there; particularly of the removal of the bodies of all the dead Kings of Spain that could be got together, and brought to the Pantheon at the Escuriall (when it was finished) and there placed before the altar, there to lie for ever: and there was a sermon made to them upon this text, "Arida ossa, audite verbum Dei;" and a most eloquent sermon, as they say.

17th. To the Excise-office, where I met Mr. Ball, and did receive my paper I went for; and

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there fell in talk with him, who being an old cavalier do swear and curse at the present state of things, that we should be brought to this, that we must be undone and cannot be saved; that the Parliament is sitting now, and will till midnight, to find how to raise this 300,000*l.* and doubts they will not do it so as to be seasonable for the King: but do cry out against all our great men at Court; how it is a fine thing for a Secretary of State to dance a jigg, and that it was not so heretofore; and, above all, do curse my Lord of Bristoll, saying the worst news that ever he heard in his life, or that the Devil could ever bring us, was this Lord's coming to prayers the other day in the House of Lords, by which he is coming about again from being a Papist, which will undo this nation; and he says he ever did say at the King's first coming in, that this nation could not be safe while that man was alive. The house, I hear, have this day concluded upon raising 100,000*l.* of the 300,000*l.* by wine, and the rest by a poll, and have resolved to excuse the Church, in expectation that they will do the more of themselves at this juncture; and I do hear that Sir W. Coventry did make a speech in behalf of the clergy.

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18th. To White Hall, where we and my Lord Brouncker attended the Council, to discourse about the fitness of entering of men presently for the manning of the fleet, before one ship is in condition to receive them. Sir W. Coventry did argue against it: I was wholly silent, because I saw the King upon the earnestness of the Prince was willing to it, crying very civilly, "If ever you intend to man the fleet without being cheated by the captains and pursers, you may go to bed and resolve never to have it manned." And so it was, like other things, over-ruled that all volunteers should be presently entered. Then there was another great business about our signing of certificates to the Exchequer for goods upon the 1,250,000*l.* Act; which the Commissioners of the Treasury did all oppose, and to the laying fault upon us. But I did then speak to the justifying what we had done even to the angering of Duncomb and Clifford; which I was vexed at: but for all that, I did set the office and myself right, and went away with the victory, my Lord Keeper saying that he would not advise the Council to order us to sign more certificates. But before I began to say any thing in this matter, the King and the Duke of York talking at the

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Council-table before all the Lords of the Committee of Miscarriages, how this entering of men before the ships could be ready would be reckoned a miscarriage; "Why," says the King, "it is then but Mr. Pepys making of another speech to them;" which made all the Lords (and there were by also the Atturny and Solicitor-generall) look upon me. Thence Sir W. Coventry, W. Pen, and I by hackney-coach to take a little ayre in Hyde Parke, the first time that I have been there this year; and we did meet many coaches going and coming, it being mighty pleasant weather. And so coming back again I light in the Pell Mell; and there went to see Sir H. Cholmly, who continues very ill of his cold. And there came in Sir H. Yelverton, and Sir H. Cholmly commended to me his acquaintance; which the other received, but without remembering to me, or I him, of our being school-fellows together; and I said nothing of it. But he took notice of my speech the other day at the bar of the House; and indeed I perceive he is a wise man. Here he do say that the town is full of it; that now the Parliament hath resolved upon 300,000*l.*; the King instead of fifty will set out but twenty-five ships, and the Dutch as many; and that Smith is to

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command them, who is allowed to have the better of Holmes in the late dispute, and is in good esteem in the Parliament above the other. Thence home, and there in favour to my eyes staid at home reading the ridiculous History of my Lord Newcastle, wrote by his wife; which shows her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an asse to suffer her to write what she writes to him and of him. So to bed, my eyes being very bad; and I know not how in the world to abstain from reading.

19th. Walked all along Thames-street, which I have not done since it was burned, as far as Billingsgate; and there do see a brave street likely to be, many brave houses being built, and of them a great many by Mr. Jaggard; but the raising of the street will make it mighty fine.

20th. All the evening pricking down some things and trying some conclusions upon my viall, in order to the inventing a better theory of musique than hath yet been abroad; and I think verily I shall do it. This day at Court I do hear that Sir W. Pen do command this summer's fleet; and Mr. Progers of the Bedchamber as a secret told me that the Prince Rupert is troubled at it, and several friends of his have been with him to

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know the reason of it; so that he do pity Sir W. Pen, whom he hath great kindness for, that he should not at any desire of his be put to this service, and thereby make the Prince his enemy and contract more envy from other people.

24th. From the Duke's chamber Sir W. Coventry and I to walk in the Matted Gallery; and there, among other things, he tells me of the wicked design that now is at last contriving against him, to get a petition presented from people, that the money they have paid to Sir W. Coventry for their places may be repaid them back; and that this is set on by Temple and Hollis of the Parliament, and, among other mean people in it, by Captain Tatnell: and he prays me that I will use some effectual way to sift Tatnell what he do and who puts him on in this business; which I do undertake, and will do with all my skill for his service, being troubled that he is still under this difficulty. Thence back to White Hall: where great talk of the tumult at the other end of the town, about Moore-fields, among the prentices, taking the liberty of these holydays to pull down brothels. And, Lord! to see the apprehensions which this did give to all people at Court, that presently order was given

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for all the soldiers, horse and foot, to be in armes; and forthwith alarmes were beat by drum and trumpet through Westminster, and all to their colours and to horse, as if the French were coming into the town. So Creed, whom I met here, and I to Lincolne's Inn-fields, thinking to have gone into the fields to have seen the prentices; but here we found these fields full of soldiers all in a body, and my Lord Craven commanding of them, and riding up and down to give orders like a madman. And some young men we saw brought by soldiers to the Guard at White Hall, and overheard others that stood by say that it was only for pulling down the brothels; and none of the bystanders finding fault with them, but rather of the soldiers for hindering them. And we heard a Justice of Peace this morning say to the King, that he had been endeavouring to suppress this tumult, but could not; and that imprisoning some of them in the new prison at Clerkenwell, the rest did come and break open the prison and release them; and that they do give out that they are for pulling down the brothels, which is one of the great grievances of the nation. To which the King made a very poor, cold, insipid answer: "Why, why do they go to them, then?"—and

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that was all, and had no mind to go on with the discourse. This evening I came home from White Hall with Sir W. Pen, who fell in talk about his going to sea this year, and the difficulties that arise to him by it, by giving offence to the Prince and occasioning envy to him, and many other things that make it a bad matter at this time of want of money and necessaries, and bad and uneven counsels at home, for him to go abroad: and did tell me how much with the King and Duke of York he had endeavoured to be excused, desiring the Prince might be satisfied in it who hath a mind to go; but he tells me they will not excuse him, and I believe it, and truly do judge it a piece of bad fortune to W. Pen.

25th. Up, and walked to White Hall, there to wait on the Duke of York; which I did: and in his chamber there, first by hearing the Duke of York call me by my name, my Lord Burlington did come to me and with great respect take notice of me and my relation to my Lord Sandwich, and express great kindness to me; and so to talk of my Lord Sandwich's concernments. By and by the Duke of York is ready; and I did wait for an opportunity of speaking my mind to him

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about Sir J. Minnes, his being unable to do the King any service. The Duke of York and all with him this morning were full of the talk of the prentices, who are not yet put down, though the guards and militia of the town have been in armes all this night and the night before; and the prentices have made fools of them, sometimes by running from them and flinging stones at them. Some blood hath been spilt, but a great many houses pulled down; and, among others, the Duke of York was mighty merry at that of Daman Page's, the great bawd of the seamen; and the Duke of York complained merrily that he hath lost two tenants, by their houses being pulled down, who paid him for their wine-licenses 15*l.* a-year. But these idle fellows have had the confidence to say that they did ill in contenting themselves in pulling down the little brothels, and did not go and pull down the great one at White Hall. And some of them have the last night had a word among them, and it was "Reformation and Reducement." This do make the courtiers ill at ease to see this spirit among people, though they think this matter will not come to much: but it speakes people's minds; and then they do say that there are men of understanding among

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them, that have been of Cromwell's army: but how true that is, I know not.

26th. To the Duke of York's house to see the new play, called "The Man is the Master;"* where the house was, it being not one o'clock, very full. By and by the King came; and we sat just under him, so that I durst not turn my back all the play. The most of the mirth was sorry, poor stuffe, of eating of sack posset and slabbering themselves, and mirth fit for clownes; the prologue but poor, and the epilogue little in it but the extraordinariness of it, it being sung by Harris and another in the form of a ballet. My wife extraordinary fine to-day in her flower tabby suit, bought a year and more ago, before my mother's death put her into mourning, and so not worn till this day: and every body in love with it; and indeed she is very fine and handsome in it. Home in a coach round by the wall; where we met so many stops by the watches, that it cost us much time and some trouble, and more money, to every watch to them to drink; this being encreased by the trouble the prentices did lately give the City, so that the militia and watches are very strict at this time; and we had

* A comedy, by Sir Wm. Davenant, taken from Molière's "Joddelet."

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like to have met with a stop for all night at the constable's watch at Mooregate by a pragmatical constable; but we came well home at about two in the morning. This noon from Mrs. Williams's my Lord Brouncker sent to Somerset House to hear how the Duchesse of Richmond do; and word was brought him that she is pretty well, but mighty full of the small pox, by which all do conclude she will be wholly spoiled; which is the greatest instance of the uncertainty of beauty that could be in this age; but then she hath had the benefit of it to be first married, and to have kept it so long under the greatest temptations in the world from a King, and yet without the least imputation. This afternoon, at the play, Sir Fr. Hollis spoke to me as a secret and matter of confidence in me, and friendship to Sir W. Pen, who is now out of town, that it were well he were made acquainted that he finds in the House of Commons, which met this day, several motions made for the calling strictly again upon the miscarriages, and particularly in the business of the prizes and the not prosecuting of the first victory, only to give an affront to Sir W. Pen, whose going to sea this year does give them matter of great dislike.

27th. This day at noon comes Mr. Pelling to me,

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and shows me the stone cut lately out of Sir Thomas Adams's* (the old comely Alderman) body; which is very large indeed, bigger I think than my fist, and weighs above twenty-five ounces: and which is very miraculous, he never in all his life had any fit of it, but lived to a great age without pain, and died at last of something else, without any sense of this in all his life. This day Creed at White Hall in discourse told me what information he hath had from very good hands, of the cowardize and ill-government of Sir Jer. Smith and Sir Thomas Allen, and the repute they have both of them abroad in the Streights, from their deportment when they did at several times command there; and that, above all Englishmen that ever were there, there never was any man that behaved himself like poor Charles Wager, whom the very Moores do mention with tears sometimes.

29th. To church; and there did first find a strange reader, who could not find in the Service-book the place for churching women, but was fain to change books with the clerke: and then a stranger preached, a seeming able man; but said in his pulpit that God did a greater work in rais-

* Knight and Bart. Alderman of London; ob. 1667. He founded an Arabic Professorship at Cambridge.

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ing of an oake-tree from an acorn, than a man's body raising it at the last day from his dust (showing the possibility of the Resurrection): which was, methought, a strange saying. Harris do so commend my wife's picture of Mr. Hales's, that I shall have him draw Harris's head; and he hath also persuaded me to have Cooper draw my wife's, which though it cost 30*l.* yet I will have done. I do hear by several that Sir W. Pen's going to sea do dislike the Parliament mightily, and that they have revived the Committee of Miscarriages to find something to prevent it; and that he being the other day with the Duke of Albemarle to ask his opinion touching his going to sea, the Duchesse overheard and came in to him, and asked W. Pen how he durst have the confidence to offer to go to sea again to the endangering the nation, when he knew himself such a coward as he was; which, if true, is very severe.

30th. By coach to Common-garden Coffee-house, where by appointment I was to meet Harris; which I did, and also Mr. Cooper the great painter, and Mr. Hales. And thence presently to Mr. Cooper's house to see some of his work; which is all in little, but so excellent as,



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though I must confess I do think the colouring of the flesh to be a little forced, yet the painting is so extraordinary as I do never expect to see the like again. Here I did see Mrs. Stewart's picture as when a young maid, and now just done before her having the small-pox: and it would make a man weep to see what she was then, and what she is like to be by people's discourse now. Here I saw my Lord Generall's picture, and my Lord Arlington and Ashly's, and several others; but among the rest one Swinfen that was Secretary to my Lord Manchester, Lord Chamberlain (with Cooling), done so admirably as I never saw any thing: but the misery was, this fellow died in debt and never paid Cooper for his picture; but it being seized on by his creditors among his other goods after his death, Cooper himself says that he did buy it and give 25*l.* out of his purse for it, for what he was to have had but 30*l.* To White Hall and Westminster, where I find the Parliament still bogling about the raising of this money. And every body's mouth full now; and Mr. Wren himself tells me that the Duke of York declares to go to sea himself this year; and I perceive it is only on this occasion of distaste of the Parliament against W.

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Pen's going, and to prevent the Prince's: but I think it is mighty hot counsel for the Duke of York at this time to go out of the way; but, Lord! what pass are all our matters come to! At noon by appointment to Cursitor's-alley in Chancery-lane, to meet Captain Cocke and some other creditors of the Navy, and their Counsel (Pemberton, North, Offly, and Charles Porter); and there dined, and talked of the business of the assignments on the Exchequer of the 1,250,000*l.* on behalf of our creditors; and there I do perceive that the Counsel had heard of my performance in the Parliament-house lately, and did value me and what I said accordingly. At dinner we had a great deal of good discourse about Parliament; their number being uncertain, and always at the will of the King to encrease as he saw reason to erect a new borough. But all concluded that the bane of the Parliament hath been the leaving off the old custom of the places allowing wages to those that served them in Parliament, by which they chose men that understood their business and would attend it, and they could expect an account from; which now they cannot: and so the Parliament is become a company of men unable to give account for the interest of the



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place they serve for. Thence, the meeting of the Counsel with the King's Counsel this afternoon being put off by reason of the death of Serjeant Maynard's * lady, I to White Hall, where the Parliament was to wait on the King; and they did: and he did think fit to tell them that they might expect to be adjourned at Whitsuntide, and that they might make haste to raise their money; but this, I fear, will displease them, who did expect to sit as long as they pleased.

April 2nd. With Lord Brouncker to the Royall Society, where they had just done; but there I was forced to subscribe to the building of a college, and did give 40*l.*; and several others did subscribe, some greater and some less sums; but several I saw hang off: and I doubt it will spoil the Society, for it breeds faction and ill-will, and becomes burdensome to some that cannot or would not do it.

3d. As soon as we had done with the Duke of York we did attend the Council; and were there called in, and did hear Mr. Sollicitor make his

* John Maynard, an eminent lawyer; made Serjeant to Cromwell in 1653, and afterwards King's Serjeant by Charles II., who knighted him. In 1661 he was chosen Member for Berealston, and sat in every Parliament till the Revolution. Ob. 1690, aged 88.

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Report to the Council in the business of a complaint against us, for having prepared certificates on the Exchequer for the further sum of 50,000*l.*; which he did in a most excellent manner of words, but most cruelly severe against us, and so were some of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, as men guilty of a practice with the tradesmen, to the King's prejudice. I was unwilling to enter into a contest with them; but took advantage of two or three words last spoke, and brought it to a short issue in good words, that if we had the King's order to hold our hands, we would; which did end the matter: and they all resolved we should have it, and so it ended. And so we away; I vexed that I did not speak more in a cause so fit to be spoke in, and wherein we had so much advantage; but perhaps I might have provoked the Sollicitor and the Commissioners of the Treasury, and therefore since I am not sorry that I forebore. This day I hear that Prince Rupert and Holmes do go to sea: and by this there is a seeming friendship and peace among our great seamen; but the devil a bit there is any love among them, or can be.

4th. I did attend the Duke of York, and he did carry us to the King's lodgings: but he was

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asleep in his closet; so we stayed in the green-roome; where the Duke of York did tell us what rules he had of knowing the weather, and did now tell us we should have rain before to-morrow (it having been a dry season for some time), and so it did rain all night almost; and pretty rules he hath, and told Brouncker and me some of them, which were such as no reason can readily be given for them. By and by the King comes out: and then to talk of other things; about the Quakers not swearing, and how they do swear in the business of a late election of a Knight of the Shire of Hartfordshire in behalf of one they have a mind to have; and how my Lord of Pembroke says he hath heard the Quaker at the tennis-court swear to himself when he loses; and told us what pretty notions my Lord Pembroke hath of the first chapter of Genesis, and a great deal of such fooleries; which the King made mighty mockery at.

5th. I hear that eight of the ringleaders in the late tumults of the prentices at Easter are condemned to die.

6th. The King and Duke of York themselves in my absence did call for some of the Commissioners of the Treasury and give them directions

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about the business of the certificates; which I, despairing to do any thing on a Sunday, and not thinking that they would think of it themselves, did rest satisfied with, and stayed at home all yesterday, leaving it to do something in this day: but I find that the King and Duke of York had been so pressing in it, that my Lord Ashly was more forward with the doing of it this day than I could have been. And so I to White Hall with Alderman Backewell in his coach, with Mr. Blany, my Lord's Secretary; and there did draw up a rough draught of what order I would have, and did carry it in, and had it read twice and approved of before my Lord Ashly and three more of the Commissioners of the Treasury; and then went up to the Council-chamber, where the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, and the rest of the Committee of the Navy, were sitting: and I did get some of them to read it there; and they would have had it passed presently, but Sir John Nicholas desired they would first have it approved by a full Council; and therefore a Council Extraordinary was readily summoned against the afternoon, and the Duke of York run presently to the King, as if now they were really set to mind their business; which God grant! Mr. Montagu

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did tell me how Mr. Vaughan in that very room did say that I was a great man, and had great understanding, and I know not what; which, I confess, I was a little proud of, if I may believe him. Here I do hear as a great secret that the King, and Duke of York and Duchesse, and my Lady Castlemaine, are now all agreed in a strict league, and all things like to go very current, and that it is not impossible to have my Lord Clarendon in time here again. But I do hear that my Lady Castlemaine is horribly vexed at the late libell, the petition of the poor prostitutes about the town whose houses were pulled down the other day. I have got one of them; and it is not very witty, but devilish severe against her and the King: and I wonder how it durst be printed and spread abroad; which shows that the times are loose, and come to a great disregard of the King, or Court, or Government. To the Park; and then to the House, and there at the door eat and drank; whither came my Lady Kerneagy,* of whom Creed tells me more particulars: how her Lord, finding her and the Duke of York at the King's first coming in, too kind, did get it out of her that he did dishonour him; and

* Carnegie.

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did take the most pernicious and full piece of revenge that ever I heard of; and he at this day owns it with great glory, and looks upon the Duke of York and the world with great content in the ampleness of his revenge.* This day in the afternoon, stepping with the Duke of York into St. James's Park, it rained; and I was forced to lend the Duke of York my cloak, which he wore through the Park.

7th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The English Monsieur"† (sitting for privacy sake in an upper box): the play hath much mirth in it as to that particular humour. After the play done, I down to Knipp, and did stay her undressing herself: and there saw the several players, men and women, go by; and pretty to see how strange they are all, one to another, after the play is done. Here I hear Sir W. Davenant is just now dead; and so who will succeed him in the mastership of the House is not yet known. The eldest Davenport is, it seems, gone from this house to be kept by somebody; which I am glad of, she being a very bad actor. Mrs. Knipp tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is mightily in love

* *Vide* Mémoires de Grammont.

† A Comedy, by James Howard.

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with Hart of their house; and he is much with her in private, and she goes to him and do give him many presents; and that the thing is most certain, and Beck Marshall only privy to it, and the means of bringing them together: which is a very odd thing; and by this means she is even with the King's love to Mrs. Davis.

8th. To Drumbleby's, and there did talk a great deal about pipes; and did buy a recorder, which I do intend to learn to play on, the sound of it being, of all sounds in the world, most pleasing to me.

9th. I up and down to the Duke of York's playhouse, there to see, which I did, Sir W. Davenant's corpse carried out towards Westminster, there to be buried. Here were many coaches and six horses, and many hacknies, that made it look, methought, as if it were the buriall of a poor poet. He seemed to have many children, by five or six in the first mourning-coach, all boys. To my office, where is come a packet from the Downes from my brother Balty, who with Harman are arrived there, of which this day comes the first news. And now the Parliament will be satisfied, I suppose, about the business

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they have so long desired between Brouncker* and Harman, about not prosecuting the first victory.

16th. To Westminster Hall, where I hear W. Pen is ordered to be impeached. There spoke with many, and particularly with G. Montagu; and went with him and Creed to his house, where he told how Sir W. Pen hath been severe to Lord Sandwich; but the Coventrys both labouring to save him by laying it on Lord Sandwich; which our friends cry out upon, and I am silent, but do believe they did it as the only way to save him. It could not be carried to commit him. It is thought the House do cool: Sir W. Coventry's being for him provoked Sir R. Howard and his party: Court all for W. Pen.

17th. I hear that the House is upon the business of Harman, who, they say, takes all on himself.

18th. Do hear this morning that Harman is committed by the Parliament last night, the day he came up; which is hard: but he took all upon himself first, and then, when a witness came in to say otherwise, he would have retracted; and the House took it so ill, they would commit him.

* Henry Brouncker.

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19th. Roger Pepys did tell me the whole story of Harman, how he prevaricated, and hath undoubtedly been imposed on and wheedled; and he is like the miller's man that in Richard the Third's time was hanged for his master.

20th. To White Hall, and there hear how Brouncker is fled, which I think will undo him; but what good it will do Harman I know not, he hath so befouled himself; but it will be good sport to my Lord Chancellor to hear how his great enemy is fain to take the same course that he is. There met Robinson, who tells me that he fears his master, Sir W. Coventry, will this week have his business brought upon the stage again about selling of places; which I shall be sorry for, though the less since I hear his standing up for Pen the other day, to the prejudice, though not to the ruin, of my Lord Sandwich; and yet I do think what he did, he did out of a principle of honesty. Meeting Sir William Hooker the Alderman, he did cry out mighty high against Sir W. Pen for his getting such an estate and giving 15,000*l.* with his daughter; which is more by half than ever he did give; but this the world believes, and so let them.

21st. I hear how Sir W. Pen's impeachment was read and agreed to in the House this day, and

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ordered to be engrossed; and he suspended the House: Harman set at liberty; and Brouncker put out of the House, and a writ* for a new election, and an impeachment ordered to be brought in against him, he being fled.

22d. To White Hall; and there we attended the Duke of York as usual; and I did present Mrs. Pett the widow and her petition to the Duke of York, for some relief from the King. Here was to-day a proposition made to the Duke of York by Captain Von Hemskirke for 20,000*l.* to discover an art how to make a ship go two feet for one what any ship do now: which the King inclines to try, it costing him nothing to try; and it is referred to us to contract with the man. Then by water from the Privy-stairs to Westminster Hall: and taking water the King and the Duke of York were in the new buildings; and the Duke of York called to me whither I was going? And I answered aloud, "To wait on our masters at Westminster;" at which he and all the company laughed: but I was sorry and troubled for it afterwards, for fear any Parliament-man should have been there; and it will be a caution to me for the time to come.

24th. I did hear the Duke of York tell how Sir

* At Romney, which Brouncker represented.

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W. Pen's impeachment was brought into the House of Lords to-day; and he spoke with great kindness of him: and that the Lords would not commit him till they could find precedent for it, and did incline to favour him.

25th. To Westminster Hall, and there met with Roger Pepys; and he tells me that nothing hath lately passed about my Lord Sandwich, but only Sir Robert Carr did speak hardly of him. But it is hoped that nothing will be done more this meeting of Parliament, which the King did by a message yesterday declare again should rise the 4th of May, and then only adjourne for three months; and this message being only about an adjournment did please them mightily, for they are desirous of their power mightily.

27th. To Westminster Hall, and up to the Lords' House; and there saw Sir W. Pen go into the House of Lords, where his impeachment was read to him and he used mighty civilly, the Duke of York being there; and two days hence, at his desire, he is to bring in his answer, and a day then to be appointed for his being heard with Counsel. Thence down into the Hall, and with Creed and Godolphin walked; and do hear that to-morrow is appointed, upon a motion on Friday last, to

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discourse the business of my Lord Sandwich, moved by Sir R. Howard, that he should be sent for home; and I fear it will be ordered. Certain news come, I hear, this day, that the Spanish Plenipotentiary in Flanders will not agree to the peace and terms we and the Dutch have made for him and the King of France; and by this means the face of things may be altered, and we forced to join with the French against Spain; which will be an odd thing.

28th. By coach to Westminster Hall, and there do understand that the business of religion and the Act against Conventicles have so taken them up all this morning, and do still, that my Lord Sandwich's business is not like to come on to-day; which I am heartily glad of. This law against Conventicles is very severe; but Creed, whom I meet here, do tell me that it being moved that Papists' meetings might be included, the House was divided upon it, and it was carried in the negative; which will give great disgust to the people, I doubt. To the King's house, and there did see "Love in a Maze;" wherein very good mirth of Lacy the clown, and Wintershell the country-knight, his master.

29th. To White Hall, and there do hear how

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Sir W. Pen hath delivered in his answer; and the Lords have sent it down to the Commons, but they have not yet read it nor taken notice of it, so as I believe they will by design defer it till they rise, that so he by lying under an impeachment may be prevented in his going to sea; which will vex him, and trouble the Duke of York. To Westminster Hall, and there met Mr. G. Montagu, and walked and talked; who tells me that the best fence against the Parliament's present fury is delay, and recommended it to me in my friends' business and my own, if I have any; and is that that Sir W. Coventry do take, and will secure himself: that the King will deliver up all to the Parliament; and being petitioned the other day by Mr. Brouncker to protect him, with teares in his eyes the King did say he could not, and bid him shift for himself, at least till the House is up.

30th. To the Dolphin Tavern, there to meet our neighbours all of the parish, this being Procession-day, to dine. And did: and much very good discourse; they being most of them very able merchants, as any in the City: Sir Andrew Rickard, Mr. Vandeputt, Sir John Fredericke, Harrington, and others. They talked with Mr.

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Mills about the meaning of this day, and the good uses of it; and how heretofore, and yet in several places, they do whip a boy at each place they stop at in their procession. I stopped to talk with Mr. Brisband, who gives me an account of the rough usage Sir G. Carteret and his Counsel had the other day before the Commissioners of Accounts, and what I do believe we shall all of us have in a greater degree than any he hath had yet with them, before their three years are out; which are not yet begun, nor God knows when they will, this being like to be no session of Parliament when they now rise. Thus ends this month; my wife in the country, myself full of pleasure and expence; in some trouble for my friends, and my Lord Sandwich by the Parliament, and more for my eyes, which are daily worse and worse, that I dare not write or read almost any thing. The Parliament going in a few days to rise: myself so long without accounting now (for seven or eight months, I think, or more,) that I know not what condition almost I am in as to getting or spending for all that time; which troubles me, but I will soon do it. The kingdom in an ill state through poverty: a fleet going out, and no money to maintain it or



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set it out; seamen yet unpaid, and mutinous when pressed to go out again; our office able to do little, nobody trusting us, nor we desiring any to trust us, and yet have not money for any thing, but only what particularly belongs to this fleet going out, and that but lamely too. The Parliament several months upon an Act for 300,000*l.* but cannot or will not agree upon it, but do keep it back, in spite of the King's desires to hasten it, till they can obtain what they have a mind in revenge upon some men for the late ill managements; and he is forced to submit to what they please, knowing that without it he shall have no money, and they as well that if they give the money the King will suffer them to do little more: and then the business of religion do disquiet every body, the Parliament being vehement against the Nonconformists, while the King seems to be willing to countenance them. So we are all poor and in pieces, God help us! while the peace is like to go on between Spain and France; and then the French may be apprehended able to attack us. So God help us!

May 1st. Met my cosen Thomas Pepys of Deptford, and took some turns with him; and he is mightily troubled for this Act now passed

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against Conventicles, and in few words and sober do lament the condition we are in by a negligent prince and a mad Parliament. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Surprizall;" and a disorder in the pit by its raining in from the cupola at top. I understand how the Houses of Commons and Lords are like to disagree very much about the business of the East India Company, and one Skinner; to the latter of which the Lords have awarded 5000*l.* from the former, for some wrong done him heretofore; and the former appealing to the Commons, the Lords vote their petition a libell; and so there is like to follow very hot work.

3d. To church, where I saw Sir A. Rickard, though he be under the Black Rod, by order of the Lords' House, upon the quarrel between the East India Company and Skinner; which is like to come to a very great heat between the two Houses. To Old-street, to see Sir Thomas Teddiman, who is very ill in bed of a fever, got, I believe, by the fright the Parliament have put him into of late.

5th. Creed and I to the Duke of York's playhouse; and there coming late, up to the balcony-box, where we find my Lady Castlemaine and



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several great ladies; and there we sat with them, and I saw "The Impertinents" once more, now three times, and the three only days it hath been acted. And to see the folly how the house do this day cry up the play more than yesterday! and I for that reason like it, I find, the better too. By Sir Positive At-all, I understand is meant Sir Robert Howard. My Lady pretty well pleased with it: but here I sat close to her fine woman, Willson, who indeed is very handsome, but, they say, with child by the King. I asked, and she told me this was the first time her Lady had seen it, I having a mind to say something to her. One thing of familiarity I observed in my Lady Castlemaine: she called to one of her women, another that sat by this, for a little patch off of her face, and put it into her mouth and wetted it, and so clapped it upon her own by the side of her mouth, I suppose she feeling a pimple rising there. Thence with Creed to Westminster Hall, and there met with cosen Roger, who tells me of the great conference this day between the Lords and Commons about the business of the East India Company, as being one of the weightiest conferences that hath been, and maintained as weightily. I am heartily sorry I was not there, it being upon

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a mighty point of the privileges of the subjects of England in regard to the authority of the House of Lords, and their being condemned by them as the Supreme Court, which we say ought not to be but by appeal from other Courts. And he tells me that the Commons had much the better of them in reason and history there quoted, and believes the Lords will let it fall.

6th. I understand that my Lord St. John is meant by Mr. Woodcocke in "The Impertinents." Home to put up things against to-morrow's carrier for my wife; and, among others, a very fine salmon-pie sent me by Mr. Steventon, W. Hewer's uncle.

7th. To the King's house; where going in for Knipp, the play being done, I did see Beck Marshall come dressed off of the stage, and look mighty fine and pretty, and noble: and also Nell in her boy's clothes, mighty pretty. But, Lord! their confidence, and how many men do hover about them as soon as they come off the stage, and how confident they are in their talk! Here was also Haynes, the incomparable dancer of the King's house. Then we abroad to Marrowbone, and there walked in the garden, the first time I ever was there; and a pretty place it is.

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8th. The Lords' House did sit till eleven o'clock last night about the business of difference between them and the Commons in the matter of the East India Company. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined; where Mr. Case the minister, a dull fellow in his talk, and all in the Presbyterian manner; a great deal of noise and a kind of religious tone, but very dull. After dinner my Lord and I together. He tells me he hears that there are great disputes like to be at Court between the factions of the two women, my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, who is now well again, (the King having made several public visits to her,) and like to come to Court: the other is to go to Barkeshire-house, which is taken for her, and they say a Privy-seal is passed for 5000*l.* for it. He believes all will come to ruin. Thence I to White Hall; where the Duke of York gone to the Lords' House, where there is to be a conference on the Lords' side with the Commons this afternoon, giving in their Reasons, which I would have been at, but could not; for going by direction to the Prince's chamber, there Brouncker, W. Pen, and Mr. Wren and I met, and did our business with the Duke of York. But, Lord! to see how this play of Sir Positive At-all in abuse of

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Sir Robert Howard do take, all the Duke's and every body's talk being of that, and telling more stories of him of the like nature, that it is now the town and country talk, and, they say, is most exactly true. The Duke of York himself said that of his playing at trap-ball is true, and told several other stories of him. Then to Brouncker's house, and there sat and talked, I asking many questions in mathematics to my Lord, which he do me the pleasure to satisfy me in.

9th. I hear that the Queene hath miscarryed of a perfect child, being gone about ten weeks; which do show that she can conceive, though it be unfortunate that she cannot bring forth. We are told also that last night the Duchesse of Monmouth dancing at her lodgings, hath sprained her thigh. We are told also that the House of Commons sat till five o'clock this morning upon the business of the difference between the Lords and them, resolving to do something therein before they rise to assert their privileges. So I at noon by water to Westminster, and there find the King hath waited in the Prince's chamber these two hours, and the Houses are not ready for him. The Commons having sent this morning, after their long debate therein the last night, to the

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Lords, that they do think the only expedient left to preserve unity between the two Houses is, that they do put a stop to any proceedings upon their late judgement against the East India Company, till their next meeting; to which the Lords returned answer, that they would return answer to them by a messenger of their own; which they not presently doing, they were all inflamed, and thought it was only a trick to keep them in suspense till the King come to adjourne them; and so rather than lose the opportunity of doing themselves right, they presently with great fury come to this vote: "That whoever should assist in the execution of the judgement of the Lords against the Company should be held betrayers of the liberties of the people of England, and of the privileges of that House." This the Lords had notice of, and were mad at it; and so continued debating without any design to yield to the Commons, till the King came in and sent for the Commons: where the Speaker made a short but silly speech about their giving him 300,000*l.*; and then the several Bills their titles were read, and the King's assent signified in the proper terms, according to the nature of the Bills; of which about three or four were public Bills, and seven or eight private

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ones, (the additional Bills for the building of the City and the Bill against Conventicles being none of them.) The King did make a short silly speech, which he read, giving them thanks for the money, which now, he said, he did believe would be sufficient, because there was peace between his neigbours; which was a kind of a slur, methought, to the Commons: and that he was sorry for what he heard of difference between the two Houses, but that he hoped their recesse would put them into a way of accommodation; and so adjourned them to the 9th of August, and then recollected himself and told them the 11th; so imperfect a speaker he is. So the Commons went to their House, and forthwith adjourned; and the Lords resumed their House, the King being gone, and sat an hour or two after: but what they did, I cannot tell; but every body expected they would commit Sir Andrew Rickard, Sir Samuel Barnardiston*, Mr. Boone, and Mr. Wynne, who were all there, and called in upon their knees to the bar of the House: and Sir John Robinson I left there, endeavouring to prevent their being committed to the Tower, lest he should

* Wood mentions Sir S. Barnadiston as a leading Fanatic, *circ.* 1683.

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thereby be forced to deny their order, because of this vote of the Commons, whereof he is one; which is an odde case.

12th. Lord Anglesy, in talk about the late difference between the two Houses, do tell us that he thinks the House of Lords may be in an error, at least it is possible they may, in this matter of Skinner; and did declare his judgement in the House of Lords against their proceedings therein, he having hindered 100 originall causes being brought into their House, notwithstanding that he was put upon defending their proceedings: but that he is confident that the House of Commons are in the wrong, in the method they take to remedy an error of the Lords, for no vote of theirs can do it; but in all like cases the Commons have done it by petition to the King, sent up to the Lords, and by them agreed to and so redressed, as they did in the petition of Right. He says that he did tell them indeed, which is talked of, and which did vex the Commons, that the Lords were "*Judices nati et Conciliarii nati;*" but all other Judges among us are under salary, and the Commons themselves served for wages; and therefore the Lords, in reason, the freer Judges.

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13th. To attend the Council about the business of Hemskirke's project of building a ship that sails two feet for one of any other ship; which the Council did agree to be put in practice, the King to give him, if it proves good, 5000*l.* in hand, and 15,000*l.* more in seven years: which for my part I think a piece of folly for them to meddle with, because the secret cannot be long kept. This morning I hear that last night Sir Thomas Teddiman, poor man! did die by a thrush in his mouth: a good man, and stout and able, and much lamented; though people do make a little mirth, and say, as I believe it did in good part, that the business of the Parliament did break his heart, or at least put him into this fever and disorder that caused his death.

15th. To a Committee for Tangier; where God knows how my Lord Bellasses' accounts passed: understood by nobody but my Lord Ashly, who, I believe, was allowed to let them go as he pleased. But here Sir H. Cholmly had his propositions read about a greater price for his work of the Molle, or to do it upon account; which being read, he was bid to withdraw. But, Lord! to see how unlucky a man may be by

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chance! for, making an unfortunate motion when they were almost tired with the other business, the Duke of York did find fault with it, and that made all the rest, that I believe he had better have given a great deal and had nothing said to it to-day; whereas I have seen other things more extravagant passed at first hearing, without any difficulty. To Loriners'-hall, by Mooregate, (a hall I never heard of before,) to Sir Thomas Teddiman's burial, where most people belonging to the sea were. And here we had rings: and here I do hear that some of the last words that he said were, that he had a very good King, God bless him! but that the Parliament had very ill rewarded him for all the service he had endeavoured to do them and his country: so that for certain this did go far towards his death. But, Lord! to see among the company the young commanders, and Thomas Killigrew and others that came, how unlike a burial this was, O'Brian taking out some ballads out of his pocket, which I read, and the rest come about me to hear! And there very merry we were all, they being new ballads. By and by the corpse went; and I, with my Lord Brouncker, and Dr. Clerke, and Mr Pierce, as far as the foot of London-

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bridge; and there we struck off into Thames-street, the rest going to Redriffe, where he is to be buried. The Duchesse of Monmouth's hip is, I hear, now set again, after much pain. I am told also that the Countesse of Shrewsbery is brought home by the Duke of Buckingham to his house; where his Duchesse saying that it was not for her and the other to live together in a house, he answered, "Why, Madam, I did think so, and therefore have ordered your coach to be ready to carry you to your father's:" which was a devilish speech, but, they say, true; and my Lady Shewsbery is there, it seems.

16th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw the best part of "The Sea Voyage,"* where Knipp did her part of sorrow very well.

17th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and put on my new stuff-suit, with a shoulder-belt according to the new fashion, and the hands of my vest and tunique laced with silk-lace of the colour of my suit: and so very handsome to church.

18th. To my Lord Bellasses, at his new house by my late Lord Treasurer's; which indeed is mighty noble, and good pictures, indeed not one bad one in it. It being almost twelve

* A comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

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o'clock, or little more, to the King's playhouse, where the doors were not then open; but presently they did open; and we in, and find many people already come in by private ways into the pit, it being the first day of Sir Charles Sedley's new play so long expected, "The Mulbery Garden;" of whom, being so reputed a wit, all the world do expect great matters. I having sat here awhile and eat nothing to-day, did slip out, getting a boy to keep my place; and to the Rose Tavern, and there got half a breast of mutton off of the spit, and dined all alone. And so to the play again; where the King and Queene by and by come, and all the Court; and the house infinitely full. But the play, when it come, though there was here and there a pretty saying, and that not very many neither, yet the whole of the play had nothing extraordinary in it all, neither of language nor design; insomuch that the King I did not see laugh nor pleased from the beginning to the end, nor the company; insomuch that I have not been less pleased at a new play in my life, I think.

19th. Pierce tells me that for certain Mr. Vaughan is made Lord Chief Justice; which I am glad of. He tells me too, that since my Lord

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of Ormond's coming over, the King begins to be mightily reclaimed, and sups every night with great pleasure with the Queene: and yet, it seems, he is mighty hot upon the Duchesse of Richmond; insomuch that, upon Sunday was se'nnight at night, after he had ordered his Guards and coach to be ready to carry him to the Park, he did on a sudden take a pair of oars or sculler, and all alone, or but one with him, go to Somerset House, and there, the garden-door not being open, himself clamber over the wall to make a visit to her; which is a horrid shame.

20th. To the Council-chamber, where the Committee of the Navy sat; and here we discoursed several things, but, Lord! like fools, so as it was a shame to see things of this importance managed by a Council that understand nothing of them. And, among other things, one was about this building of a ship with Hemskirke's secret, to sail a third faster than any other ship; but he hath got Prince Rupert on his side, and by that means, I believe, will get his conditions made better than he would otherwise, or ought indeed. To the Mulbery-garden,* where I never was before; and find it a very silly place, worse than Spring-

* On the site of which Buckingham-house was erected.

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garden, and but little company, only a wilderness here that is somewhat pretty.

21st. To the office, where meets me Sir Richard Ford; who among other things congratulates me, as one or two did yesterday, on my great purchase; and he advises me rather to forbear, if it be not done, as a thing that the world will envy me in: and what is it but my cosen Tom Pepys's buying of Martin Abbey,* in Surry? All the town is full of the talk of a meteor, or some fire, that did on Saturday last fly over the City at night; which do put me in mind that, being then walking in the dark an hour or more myself in the garden after I had done writing, I did see a light before me come from behind me, which made me turn back my head; and I did see a sudden fire or light running in the sky, as it were towards Cheapside-ward, and vanished very quick; which did make me bethink myself what holyday it was, and took it for some rocket, though it was much brighter: and the world do make much discourse of it, their apprehensions being

* In 1668 the site of Murton, *alias* Martin Priory, was conveyed by Ellis Crispe to Thomas Pepys, Esq. of Hatcham Barns, Master of the Jewel-office to Charles II. and James II.—*Manning's Surrey.*

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mighty full of the rest of the City to be burned, and the Papists to cut our throats.

22d. I fitted myself for my journey to Brampton to-morrow, which I fear will not be pleasant because of the wet weather, it rained very hard all this day; but the less it troubles me, because the King and Duke of York and Court are at this day at Newmarket at a great horse-race, and proposed great pleasure for two or three days, but are in the same wet.

23d. To the Bull in Bishopsgate-street; and there about six took coach, and so away to Bishop's Stafford.* The ways are mighty full of water, so as hardly to be passed. After dinner to Cambridge, about nine at night; and there I met my father's horses.

24th. We set out by three o'clock to Brampton. Here I saw my brother and sister Jackson. After dinner my Lady Sandwich sending to see whether I was come, I presently took horse, and find her and her family at chapel: and thither I went in to them, and sat out the sermon; where I heard Jervas Fulwood, now their chaplain, preach a very good and civantick kind of sermon, too good for an ordinary congregation. After sermon

* Bishop Stortford, in Herts.



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I with my Lady, and my Lady Hinchingbroke, and Paulina, and Lord Hinchingbroke.

25th. To Cambridge, the waters not being now so high as before. Here lighting, I took my boy and two brothers, and walked to Magdalene College; and there into the butterys as a stranger, and there drank of their beer, which pleased me, as the best I ever drank: and hear by the butler's man, who was son to Goody Mulliner over-against the College, that we used to buy stewed prunes of, concerning the College and persons in it; and find very few, only Mr. Hollins* and Pechell, I think, that were of my time.

26th. To the coach; where about six o'clock we set out, and got to Bishopsgate-street before eight o'clock, the waters being now most of them down, and we avoiding the bad way in the forest by a privy way, which brought us to Hodsden; and so to Tibald's that road; which was mighty pleasant.

27th. Met Mr. Sawyer, my old chamber-fellow; and he and I by water together to the Temple, he giving me an account of the base, rude usage, which he and Sir G. Carteret had lately before

* John Hollins of Medley, in Yorkshire; admitted a Pensioner of Magdalene College, March 1651.

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the Commissioners of Accounts, where he was as Counsel to Sir G. Carteret; which I was sorry to hear, they behaving themselves like most insolent and ill-mannered men. To see Sir W. Pen; whom I find still very ill of the gout, sitting in his great chair, made on purpose for persons sick of that disease for their ease; and this very chair, he tells me, was made for my Lady Lambert.

29th. Received some directions from the Duke of York and the Committee of the Navy about casting up the charge of the present summer's fleet, that so they may come within the bounds of the sum given by the Parliament. But it is pretty to see how Prince Rupert and other mad silly people are for setting out but a little fleet, there being no occasion for it; and say it will be best to save the money for better uses. But Sir G. Carteret did declare that in wisdom it was better to do so; but that, in obedience to the Parliament, he was for setting out the fifty sail talked on, though it spent all the money, and to little purpose; and that this was better than to leave it to the Parliament to make bad constructions of their thrift, if any trouble should happen. Thus wary the world is grown! Thence back again presently home, and did business till noon.



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And then to Sir G. Carteret's to dinner with much good company, it being the King's birthday, and many healths drunk. And here I did receive another letter from my Lord Sandwich; which troubles me to see how I have neglected him in not writing, or but once, all this time of his being abroad; and I see he takes notice, but yet gently, of it.

30th. Up, and put on a new summer black bombazin suit; and being come now to an agreement with my barber to keep my perriwig in good order at 20*s.* a-year, I am like to go very spruce, more than I used to do. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "Philaster;"* where it is pretty to see how I could remember almost all along, ever since I was a boy, Arethusa, the part which I was to have acted at Sir Robert Cooke's; and it was very pleasant to me, but more to think what a ridiculous thing it would have been for me to have acted a beautiful woman. To Fox Hall, and there fell into the company of Harry Killigrew, a rogue newly come back out of France, but still in disgrace at our Court, and young Newport and others, as very rogues as any in the town, who were ready to take hold of every wo-

* A tragedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

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man that come by them. And so to supper in an arbour: but, Lord! their mad talk did make my heart ake. And here I first understood by their talk the meaning of the company that lately were called Ballers; Harris telling how it was by a meeting of some young blades, where he was among them, and my Lady Bennet and her ladies; and there dancing naked, and all the roguish things in the world. But, Lord! what loose company was this that I was in to-night, though full of wit; and worth a man's being in for once to know the nature of it, and their manner of talk and lives.

31st. I hear that Mrs. Davis is quite gone from the Duke of York's house, and Gosnell comes in her room; which I am glad of. At the play at Court the other night Mrs. Davis was there; and when she was to come to dance her jigg, the Queene would not stay to see it; which people do think was out of displeasure at her being the King's mistress, that she could not bear it. My Lady Castlemaine is, it seems, now mightily out of request, the King coming little to her, and then she mighty melancholy and discontented.

June 1st. Alone to Fox Hall, and walked and saw young Newport and two more rogues of the

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town seize on two ladies, who walked with them an hour with their masks on; (perhaps civil ladies;) and there I left them.

3d. To White Hall to the Council-chamber, where I did present the Duke of York with an account of the charge of the present fleet to his satisfaction; and this being done, did ask his leave for my going out of town five or six days, which he did give me, saying, that my diligence in the King's business was such that I ought not to be denied when my own business called me any whither. To my Lord Crewe's to visit him; from whom I learn nothing but that there hath been some controversy at the Council-table about my Lord Sandwich's signing, where some would not have had him, in the treaty with Portugall; but all, I think, is over in it.

4th. Mr. Clerke the solicitor dined with me and my clerks. After dinner I carried and set him down at the Temple, he observing to me how St. Sepulchre's church steeple is repaired already a good deal, and the Fleet-bridge is contracted for by the City to begin to be built this summer; which do please me mightily. I to White Hall, and walked through the Park for a little ayre;

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and so back to the Council-chamber to the Committee of the Navy, about the business of fitting the present fleet suitable to the money given; which, as the King orders it and by what appears, will be very little, and so as I perceive the Duke of York will have nothing to command, nor can intend to go abroad. But it is pretty to see how careful these great men are to do every thing so as they may answer it to the Parliament, thinking themselves safe in nothing but where the Judges (with whom they often advise) do say the matter is doubtful; and so they take upon themselves then to be the chief persons to interpret what is doubtful. Thence home, and all the evening to set matters in order against my going to Brampton to-morrow, being resolved upon my journey, and having the Duke of York's leave again today; though I do plainly see that I can very ill be spared now, there being much business, especially about this which I have attended the Council about, and I the man that am alone consulted with; and besides, my Lord Brouncker is at this time ill, and Sir W. Pen. So things being put in order at the office, I home to do the like there; and so to bed.

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5th.* Friday. At Barnet for milk, 6*d.* On the highway, to menders of the highway, 6*d.* Dinner at Stevenage, 5*s.* 6*d.*

6th. Saturday. Spent at Huntingdon with Bowles and Appleyard, and Shepley, 2*s.*

7th. Sunday. My father, for money lent, and horse-hire, 1*l.* 11*s.*

8th. Monday. Father's servants (father having in the garden told me bad stories of my wife's ill words), 14*s.*; one that helped at the horses, 1*s.*; menders of the highway, 2*s.* Pleasant country to Bedford; where, while they stay, I rode through the town; and a good country-town; and there drinking, 1*s.* We on to Newport; and there I and W. Hewer to the church, and there give the boy 1*s.* So to Buckingham, a good old town. Here I to see the church; which very good, and the leads, and a school in it: did give the sexton's boy 1*s.* A fair bridge here, with many arches: vexed at my people's making me lose so much time: reckoning, 13*s.* 4*d.* Mightily pleased with the pleasure of the ground all the day. At night to Newport Pagnell; and there a good pleasant

* The Journal from this time to the 17th of June is contained on five leaves, inserted in the Book; and after them follow several blank pages.

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country-town, but few people in it. A very fair and like a cathedral-church; and I saw the leads, and a vault that goes far under ground: the town, and so most of this country, well watered. Lay here well, and rose next day by four o'clock: few people in the town: and so away. Reckoning for supper, 19*s.* 6*d.*; poor, 6*d.* Mischance to the coach, but no time lost.

9th. Tuesday. We came to Oxford, a very sweet place: paid our guide 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; barber, 2*s.* 6*d.*; book (Stonhenge,) 4*s.*; boy that showed me the colleges before dinner, 1*s.* To dinner; and then out with my wife and people, and landlord: and to him that showed us the schools and library, 10*s.*; to him that showed us All Souls' College and Chichly's picture, 5*s.* So to see Christ Church with my wife, I seeing several others very fine alone before dinner, and did give the boy that went with me, 1*s.* Strawberries, 1*s.* 2*d.* Dinner and servants, 1*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* After coming home from the schools, I out with the landlord to Brazen-nose College to the butteries, and in the cellar find the hand * of the child of Hales, long butler, 2*s.* Thence with coach and people to Physic-garden, 1*s.* So to Friar Bacon's

* Does this mean "slipped 2*s.* into the child's hand?"

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study: I up and saw it, and gave the man 1*s.*— Bottle of sack for landlord, 2*s.* Oxford mighty fine place; and well seated, and cheap entertainment. At night came to Abingdon, where had been a fair of custard; and met many people and scholars going home; and there did get some pretty good musick, and sang and danced till supper: 5*s.*

10th. Wednesday. Up, and walked to the hospitall: very large and fine, and pictures of founders, and the History of the hospitall; and is said to be worth 700*l.* per annum, and that Mr. Foly was here lately to see how their lands were settled. And here, in old English, the story of the occasion of it, and a rebus at the bottom. So did give the poor, which they would not take but in their box, 2s. 6*d.* So to the inn, and paid the reckoning and what not, 13*s.* So forth towards Hungerford. Led this good way by our landlord, one Heart, an old but very civil and well-spoken man, more than I ever heard, of his quality. He gone, we forward; and I vexed at my people's not minding the way. So come to Hungerford, where very good trouts, eels, and cray-fish. Dinner: a mean town. At dinner there, 12*s.* Thence set out with a guide, who saw us to Newmarket-heath,

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and then left us, 3*s.* 6*d.* So all over the plain by the sight of the steeple (the plain high and low) to Salisbury by night; but before I came to the town, I saw a great fortification, and there light, and to it and in it; and find it prodigious, so as to fright me to be in it all alone at that time of night, it being dark. I understand since it to be that that is called Old Sarum. Come to the George Inne, where lay in a silk bed; and very good diet. To supper; then to bed.

11th. Thursday. Up, and W. Hewer and I up and down the town, and find it a very brave place. The river goes through every street; and a most capacious market-place. The city great, I think greater than Hereford. But the minster most admirable; as big, I think, and handsomer than Westminster: and a most large close about it, and houses for the officers thereof, and a fine palace for the Bishop. So to my lodging back, and took out my wife and people to show them the town and church; but they being at prayers, we could not be shown the quire. A very good organ; and I looked in and saw the Bishop, my friend Dr. Ward. Thence to the inne; and there not being able to hire coach-horses, and not willing to use our own, we got

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saddle-horses, very dear. Boy that went to look for them, 6*d.* So the three women behind W. Hewer, Murford, and our guide, and I single to Stonehenge, over the plain and some great hills, even to fright us. Come thither, and find them as prodigious as any tales I ever heard of them, and worth going this journey to see. God knows what their use was: they are hard to tell, but yet may be told. Gave the shepherd-woman, for leading our horses, 4*d.* So back by Wilton, my Lord Pembroke's house, which we could not see, he being just coming to town; but the situation I do not like, nor the house at present much, it being in a low but rich valley. So back home; and there being light we to the church, and there find them at prayers again, so could not see the quire; but I sent the women home, and I did go in and saw very many fine tombs, and among the rest some very ancient of the Montagus. So home to dinner; and that being done, paid the reckoning, which was so exorbitant, and particular in rate of my horses, and 7*s.* 6*d.* for bread and beer, that I was mad, and resolve to trouble the mistress about it, and get something for the poor; and come away in that humour: 2*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* Servants, 1*s.* 6*d.*; poor, 1*s.*; guide to the Stones,

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2*s.*; poor woman in the street, 1*s.*; ribbands, 9*d*; wash-woman, 1s.; sempstress for W. Hewer, 3*s.*; lent W. Hewer, 2*s.* Thence about six o'clock, and with a guide went over the smooth plain indeed till night; and then by a happy mistake, and that looked like an adventure, we were carried out of our way to a town where we would lie, since we could not go as far as we would. By and by to bed, glad of this mistake, because it seems, had we gone on as we pretended, we could not have passed with our coach, and must have lain on the plain all night. This day from Salisbury I wrote by the post my excuse for not coming home, which I hope will do, for I am resolved to see the Bath, and, it may be, Bristol.

12th. Friday. Up, finding our beds good, but lousy; which made us merry. We set out, the reckoning and servants coming to 9*s* 6*d.*; my guide thither, 2*s.*; coachman advanced, 10*s.* So rode a very good way, led to my great content by our landlord to Philips-Norton, with great pleasure, being now come into Somersetshire; where my wife and Deb. mightily joyed thereat,* I commending the country, as indeed it deserves. And the first town we came to was Brekington;

* They were natives of that county.

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where we stopping for something for the horses, we called two or three little boys to us, and pleased ourselves with their manner of speech. At Philips-Norton I walked to the church, and there saw a very ancient tomb of some Knight Templar, I think; and here saw the tombstone whereon there were only two heads cut, which the story goes, and creditably, were two sisters, called the Fair Maids of Foscott, that had two bodies upward and one belly, and there lie buried. Here is also a very fine ring of six bells, and they mighty tuneable. Having dined very well, 10*s.*, we come before night to the Bath; where I presently stepped out with my landlord, and saw the baths with people in them. They are not so large as I expected, but yet pleasant; and the town most of stone, and clean, though the streets generally narrow. I home, and being weary, went to bed without supper; the rest supping.

13th. Saturday. Up at four o'clock, being by appointment called up to the Cross Bath; where we were carried after one another, myself and wife and Betty Turner, Willet, and W. Hewer. And by and by, though we designed to have done before company come, much company come; very fine ladies; and the manner pretty enough, only

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methinks it cannot be clean to go so many bodies together in the same water. Good conversation among them that are acquainted here, and stay together. Strange to see how hot the water is; and in some places, though this is the most temperate bath, the springs so hot as the feet not able to endure. But strange to see, when women and men here, that live all the season in these waters, cannot but be parboiled and look like the creatures of the bath! Carried away wrapped in a sheet, and in a chair home; and there one after another thus carried (I staying above two hours in the water) home to bed, sweating for an hour. And by and by comes musick to play to me, extraordinary good as ever I heard at London almost any where: 5*s.* Up to go to Bristoll about eleven o'clock, and paying my landlord that was our guide from Chiltren 10*s.*, and the serjeant of the bath 10*s.*, and the man that carried us in chairs 3*s.* 6*d.*, set out toward Bristoll, and come thither, the way bad, (in coach hired to spare our own horses,) but country good, about two o'clock; where set down at the Horse-shoe, and there being trimmed by a very handsome fellow, 2*s.*, walked with my wife and people through the city, which is in every respect another London, that one can

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hardly know it to stand in the country no more than that. No carts, it standing generally on vaults, only dog-carts. So to the Three Crowns Tavern I was directed; but when I came in, the master told me that he had newly given over the selling of wine; it seems grown rich: and so went to the Sun; and there Deb. going with W. Hewer and Betty Turner to see her uncle, and leaving my wife with the mistress of the house, I to see the quay, which is a most large and noble place; and to see the new ship building by Bally, neither he nor Furzer* being in town. It will be a fine ship. Spoke with the foreman, and did give the boys that kept the cabin 2*s.* Walked back to the Sun, where I find Deb. come back, and with her, her uncle, a sober merchant, very good company, and so like one of our sober wealthy London merchants as pleased me mightily. Here we dined, and much good talk with him, 7*s.* 6*d.*: a messenger to Sir John Knight,† who was not at home, 6*d.* Then walked with him and my wife and company round the quay, and to the ship; and he showed me the Custom-house, and made me understand many things of the place, and led

* Daniel Furzer, Surveyor to the Navy.

† Mayor of Bristol 1663, and M. P. for that city.

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us through Marsh-street, where our girl was born. But, Lord! the joy that was among the old poor people of the place, to see Mrs. Willet's daughter, it seems her mother being a brave woman and mightily beloved! And so brought us a back way by surprize to his house; where a substantial good house, and well furnished; and did give us good entertainment of strawberries, a whole venison-pasty cold, and plenty of brave wine, and above all Bristol milk: where comes in another poor woman, who hearing that Deb. was here did come running hither, and with her eyes so full of tears and heart so full of joy that she could not speak when she come in, that it made me weep too: I protest that I was not able to speak to her, which I would have done, to have diverted her tears. His wife a good woman, and so sober and substantiall as I was never more pleased any where. Servant-maid, 2*s*. So thence took leave and he with us through the city; where in walking I find the city pay him great respect, and he the like to the meanest, which pleased me mightily. He showed us the place where the merchants meet here, and a fine cross yet standing, like Cheapside. And so to the Horse-shoe, where paid the reckoning, 2*s*. 6*d*. We back, and by moonshine to the



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Bath again about ten o'clock: bad way; and giving the coachman 1*s.* went all of us to bed.

14th. (Sunday). Up, and walked up and down the town, and saw a pretty good market-place, and many good streets, and very fair stone-houses. And so to the great church, and there saw Bishop Montagu's tomb; and, when placed, did there see many brave people come, and among others two men brought in litters, and set down in the chancel to hear: but I did not know one face. Here a good organ; but a vain pragmatical fellow preached a ridiculous, affected sermon, that made me angry, and some gentlemen that sat next me, and sang well. So home, walking round the walls of the City, which are good, and the battlements all whole. To this church again, to see it and look over the monuments; where, among others, Dr. Venner and Pelling, and a lady of Sir W. Waller's;* he lying with his face broken. My landlord did give me a good account of the antiquity of this town and Wells; and of two heads, on two pillars, in Wells church.

15th. Monday. Looked into the baths, and find the King and Queene's full of a mixed sort of good and bad, and the Cross only almost for the gentry.

* Jane, sole daughter of Sir Richard Reynell.

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So home with my wife, and did pay my guides, two women, 5*s.*; one man, 2*s.* 6*d.*; poor, 6*d.*; woman to lay my foot-cloth, 1*s.* So to our inne, and there eat and paid reckoning, 1*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*; servants, 3*s.*; poor, 1*s.*; lent the coachman, 10*s.* Before I took coach, I went to make a boy dive in the King's bath, 1*s.* I paid also for my coach and a horse to Bristoll, 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* Took coach, and away without any of the company of the other stage-coaches that go out of this town to-day; and rode all day with some trouble, for fear of being out of our way, over the Downes, (where the life of the shepherds is, in fair weather only, pretty). In the afternoon come to Abury; where seeing great stones like those of Stonehenge standing up, I stopped and took a countryman of that town, and he carried me and showed me a place trenched in, like Old Sarum almost, with great stones pitched in it, some bigger than those at Stonehenge in figure, to my great admiration: and he told me that most people of learning coming by do come and view them, and that the King did so; and the mount cast hard by is called Selbury, from one King Seall buried there, as tradition says. I did give this man 1*s.* So took coach again, seeing one place with great



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high stones pitched round, which I believe was once some particular building, in some measure like that of Stonehenge. But, about a mile off, it was prodigious to see how full the Downes are of great stones; and all along the vallies stones of considerable bigness, most of them growing certainly out of the ground, so thick as to cover the ground; which makes me think the less of the wonder of Stonehenge, for hence they might undoubtedly supply themselves with stones, as well as those at Abury. In my way did give to the poor and menders of the highway 3*s*. Before night come to Marlborough, and lay at the Hart; a good house, and a pretty fair town for a street or two; and what is most singular is, their houses on one side having their pent-houses supported with pillars, which makes it a good walk. All the five coaches that come this day from Bath, as well as we, were gone out of the town before six.

16th. Tuesday. After paying the reckoning, 14*s*. 4*d*. and servants 2*s*., poor 1*s*., set out; and passing through a good part of this country of Wiltshire, saw a good house* of Alexander Popham's,† and another of my Lord Craven's,‡ I

* Littlecote † M.P. for Bath.

‡ Hampstead Marshal, since destroyed by fire.

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think, in Barkeshire. Come to Newbery, and there dined; and musick: a song of the old courtier of Queene Elizabeth's, and how he was changed upon the coming in of the King, did please me mightily, and I did cause W. Hewer to write it out. Then comes the reckoning, (forced to change gold,) 8*s.* 7*d.*; servants and poor, 1*s.* 6*d.* So out, and lost our way, but come into it again; and in the evening betimes come to Reding; and I to walk about the town, which is a very great one, I think bigger than Salisbury: a river runs through it in seven branches, (which unite in one, in one part of the town,) and runs into the Thames half-a-mile off: one odd sign of the Broad Face. Then to my inn, and so to bed.

17th. (Wednesday.) Rose, and paying the reckoning, 12*s.* 6*d.*; servants and poor, 2*s.* 6*d.*; musick, the worst we have had, coming to our chamber-door, but calling us by wrong names; so set out with one coach in company, and through Maydenhead, which I never saw before, to Colebrooke by noon; the way mighty good; and there dined, and fitted ourselves a little to go through London anon. Thence pleasant way to London before night, and find all very well to great content; and saw Sir W. Pen, who is well again.

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I hear of the ill news by the great fire at Barbadoes.

18th. I did receive a hint or two from my Lord Anglesy, as if he thought much of my taking the ayre as I have done; but I care not: but whatever the matter is, I think he hath some ill-will to me, or at least an opinion that I am more the servant of the Board than I am. To my Lady Peterborough's; who tells me, among other things, her Lord's good words to the Duke of York lately about my Lord Sandwich, and that the Duke of York is kind to my Lord Sandwich; which I am glad to hear.

19th. Between two and three in the morning we were waked with the maids crying out, "Fire, fire, in Marke-lane!" So I rose and looked out, and it was dreadful; and strange apprehensions in me and us all of being presently burnt. So we all rose; and my care presently was to secure my gold and plate and papers, and could quickly have done it, but I went forth to see where it was; and the whole town was presently in the streets; and I found it in a new-built house that stood alone in Minchin-lane, over-against the Cloth-workers'-hall, which burned furiously: the house not yet quite finished; and the benefit of brick was well seen, for it burnt all inward and fell

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down within itself; so no fear of doing more hurt. Yesterday I heard how my Lord Ashly is like to die, having some imposthume in his breast, that he hath been fain to be cut into the body. To White Hall, where we attended the Duke of York in his closet upon our usual business. And thence out, and did see many of the Knights of the Garter with the King and Duke of York going into the Privy-chamber to elect the Elector of Saxony in that Order; who, I did hear the Duke of York say, was a good drinker: I know not upon what score this compliment is done him.

22d. With Balty to St. James's, and there presented him to Mr. Wren about his being Muster-master this year; which will be done. So up to wait on the Duke of York, and thence with Sir W. Coventry walked to White Hall: good discourse about the Navy, where want of money undoes us. Thence to the Coffee-house in Covent-garden; but met with nobody but Sir Philip Howard, who shamed me before the whole house there in commendation of my speech in Parliament. To the King's playhouse, and saw an act or two of the new play, "Evening Love,"* again,

* "An Evening's Love, or The Mock Astrologer," a comedy by Dryden.

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but like it not. Calling this day at Herringman's,* he tells me Dryden do himself call it but a fifth-rate play. From thence to my Lord Brouncker's, where a Council of the Royall Society; and there heard Mr. Harry Howard's noble offers about ground for our college, and his intentions of building his own house there, most nobly. My business was to meet Mr. Boyle; which I did, and discoursed about my eyes; and he did give me the best advice he could, but refers me to one Turberville† of Salisbury lately come to town, who I will go to. Thence home; where the streets full at our end of the town, removing their wine against the Act begins, which will be two days hence, to raise the price.

23d. To Dr. Turberville about my eyes; whom I met with: and he did discourse, I thought, learnedly about them; and takes time, before he did prescribe me any thing, to think of it.

24th. Creed and Colonel Atkins come to me

* H. Herringman, a printer and publisher in the New Exchange.

† Daubigney Turberville, of Oriel College; created M.D. at Oxford 1660.

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about sending coals to Tangier; and upon that most of the morning.

28th. Much talk of the French setting out their fleet afresh; but I hear nothing that our King is alarmed at it at all, but rather making his fleet less.

29th. To Dr. Turberville's, and there did receive a direction for some physic, and also a glass of something to drop into my eyes: he gives me hopes that I may do well. Then to White Hall; where I find the Duke of York in the Council-chamber; and the officers of the Navy were called in about Navy business, about calling in of more ships; the King of France having, as the Duke of York says, ordered his fleet to come in, notwithstanding what he had lately ordered for their staying abroad. Thence to the chapel, it being St. Peter's day, and did hear an anthem of Silas Taylor's making; a dull, old-fashioned thing of six and seven parts, that nobody could understand: and the Duke of York, when he came out, told me that he was a better store-keeper than anthem-maker, and that was bad enough too. This morning Mr. May showed me the King's new buildings at White Hall, very

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fine; and, among other things, his cielings and his houses of office.

July 1st. To White Hall, and so to St. James's where we met; and much business with the Duke of York. And I find the Duke of York very hot for regulations in the Navy; and I believe is put on it by Sir W. Coventry; and I am glad of it: and particularly he falls heavy on Chatham-yard, and is vexed that Lord Anglesy did the other day complain at the Council-table of disorders in the Navy, and not to him. So I to White Hall to a Committee of Tangier; and there vexed with the importunity and clamours of Alderman Backewell for my acquittance for money by him supplied to the garrison, before I have any order for paying it. So home, calling at several places, among others the 'Change, and on Cooper, to know when my wife shall come and sit for her picture.

3d. To Commissioners of Accounts at Brooke-house, the first time I was ever there: and found Sir W. Turner in the chair; and present, Lord Halifax, Thomas Gregory, Dunster, and Osborne. I long with them, and see them hot set on this matter; but I did give them proper and safe answers. Halifax, I perceive, was industrious on

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my side on behalf of his uncle Coventry, it being the business of Sir W. Warren. Vexed only at their denial of a copy of what I set my hand to and swore. To an alehouse: met Mr. Pierce the surgeon, and Dr. Clerke, Waldron,* Turberville my physician for the eyes, and Lowre, † to dissect several eyes of sheep and oxen, with great pleasure and to my great information. But strange that this Turberville should be so great a man, and yet to this day had seen no eyes dissected, or but once, but desired this Dr. Lowre to give him the opportunity to see him dissect some.

4th. Up, and to see Sir W. Coventry, and give him an account of my doings yesterday; which he well liked of, and was told thereof by my Lord Halifax before; but I do perceive he is much concerned for this business. Gives me advice to write a smart letter to the Duke of York about the want of money in the Navy, and desire him to communicate it to the Commissioners of the Treasury; for he tells me he hath

* Thomas Waldron, of Baliol College; created M. D. at Oxford 1653; afterwards Physician in Ordinary to Charles II.

† Probably Richard Lower, of Christ Church; admitted Bachelor of Physic at Oxford 1665.

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hot work sometimes to contend with the rest for the Navy, they being all concerned for some other part of the King's expenses, which they would prefer to this of the Navy. He showed me his closet, with his round-table for him to sit in the middle, very convenient; and I borrowed several books of him, to collect things out of the Navy, which I have not.

6th. With Sir W. Coventry; and we walked in the Park together a good while. He mighty kind to me; and hear many pretty stories of my Lord Chancellor's being heretofore made sport of by Peter Talbot the priest, in his story of the death of Cardinal Bleau; by Lord Cottington, in his *Dolor de las Tripas;* and Tom Killigrew, in his being bred in Ram-ally, and now bound prentice to Lord Cottington, going to Spain with 1000*l.* and two suits of clothes. Thence to Mr. Cooper's, and there met my wife and W. Hewer and Deb.; and there my wife first sat for her picture: but he is a most admirable workman, and good company. Here comes Harris, and first told us how Betterton is come again upon the stage: whereupon my wife and company to the house to see "Henry the Fifth;" while I to attend the Duke of York at the

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Committee of the Navy at the Council, where some high dispute between him and W. Coventry about settling pensions upon all flag-officers while unemployed: W. Coventry against it, and, I think, with reason. Great doings at Paris, I hear, with their triumphs for their late conquests. The Duchesse of Richmond sworn last week of the Queene's Bedchamber, and the King minding little else but what he used to do—about his women.

7th. We are fain to go round by Newgate because of Fleet-bridge being under rebuilding.

8th. To Sir W. Coventry, and there discoursed of several things; and I find him much concerned in the present enquiries now on foot of the Commissioners of Accounts, though he reckons himself and the rest very safe, but vexed to see us liable to these troubles in things wherein we have laboured to do best. Thence, he being to go out of town to-morrow to drink Banbury waters, I to the Duke of York to attend him about business of the office; and find him mighty free to me, and how he is concerned to mend things in the Navy himself, and not leave it to other people. So home to dinner; and then with my wife to Cooper's, and there saw her sit; and he do extraordinary things indeed. So to

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White Hall; and there by and by the Duke of York comes to the Robe-chamber and spent with us three hours till night, in hearing the business of the Masters-attendants of Chatham, and the Store-keeper of Woolwich; and resolves to displace them all; so hot he is of giving proofs of his justice at this time, that it is their great fate now to come to be questioned at such a time as this.

10th. To Cooper's; and there find my wife (and W. Hewer and Deb.) sitting, and painting; and here he do work finely, though I fear it will not be so like as I expected: but now I understand his great skill in musick, his playing and setting to the French lute most excellently; and he speaks French, and indeed is an excellent man.

11th. To the King's Playhouse to see an old play of Shirly's, called "Hide Parke;" the first day acted; where horses are brought upon the stage: but it is but a very moderate play, only an excellent epilogue spoke by Beck Marshall.

13th. To Cooper's, and spent the afternoon with them; and it will be an excellent picture. This morning I was let blood, and did bleed about fourteen ounces, towards curing my eyes.

14th. This day Bosse finished his copy of my

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picture, which I confess I do not admire, though my wife prefers him to Browne; nor do I think it like. He does it for W. Hewer, who hath my wife's also, which I like less.

15th. At noon is brought home the espinette I bought the other day of Haward; costs me 5*l.* My Lady Duchesse of Monmouth is still lame, and likely always to be so; which is a sad chance for a young lady to get only by trying of tricks in dancing.

17th. To White Hall, where waited on the Duke of York and then the Council about the business of tickets; and I did discourse to their liking, only was too high to assert that nothing could be invented to secure the King more in the business of tickets than there is, which the Duke of Buckingham did except against, and I could have answered, but forbore, but all liked very well.

18th. They say the King of France is making a war again in Flanders with the King of Spain; the King of Spain refusing to give him all that he says was promised him in that treaty.

19th. Come Mr. Cooper, Hales, Harris, Mr. Butler that wrote Hudibras, and Mr. Cooper's cosen Jacke; and by and by come Mr. Reeves

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and his wife, whom I never saw before. And there we dined: a good dinner, and company that pleased me mightily, being all eminent men in their way. Spent all the afternoon in talk and mirth, and in the evening parted.

20th. To visit my Lord Crewe, who is very sick, to great danger, by an erisypelas; the first day I heard of it.

21st. Went to my plate-maker's, and there spent an hour about contriving my little plates for my books of the King's four Yards.

22d. Attending at the Committee of the Navy about the old business of tickets; where the only expedient they have found is to bind the commanders and officers by oaths. The Duke of York told me how the Duke of Buckingham, after the Council the other day, did make mirth at my position about the sufficiency of present rules in the business of tickets; and here I took occasion to desire a private discourse with the Duke of York, and he granted it me on Friday next.

24th. Up, and by water to St. James's (having by the way shown Symson Sir W. Coventry's chimney-pieces, in order to the making me one;) and there, after the Duke of York was ready, he called me to his closet; and there I did long and

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largely show him the weakness of our office, and did give him advice to call us to account for our duties; which he did take mighty well, and desired me to draw up what I would have him write to the office. I did lay open the whole failings of the office, and how it was his duty to fine them and to find fault with them as Admiral, especially at this time; which he agreed to, and seemed much to rely on what I said.

27th. To see my Lord Crewe, whom I find up; and did wait on him; but his face sore, but in hopes to do now very well again. Thence to Cooper's, where my wife's picture almost done, and mighty fine indeed. So over the water with my wife and Deb. and Mercer to Spring-garden, and there eat and walked; and observe how rude some of the young gallants of the town are become, to go into people's arbors where there are not men, and almost force the women; which troubled me, to see the confidence of the vice of the age: and so we away by water with much pleasure home.

30th. To White Hall. There met with Mr. May, who was giving directions about making a close way for people to go dry from the gate up into the House, to prevent their going through the



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galleries; which will be very good. I staid and talked with him about the state of the King's offices in general, and how ill he is served, and do still find him an excellent person.

31st. With Mr. Ashburnham; and I made him admire my drawing a thing presently in short-hand; but, God knows, I have paid dear for it in my eyes. To the King's house, to see the first day of Lacy's "Monsieur Ragou," now new acted. The King and Court all there, and mighty merry: a farce. The month ends mighty sadly with me, my eyes being now past all use almost; and I am mighty hot upon trying the late printed experiment of paper tubes.

August 5th. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Guardian;" formerly the same, I find, that was called "Cutter of Coleman-street;" a silly play. And thence to Westminster Hall, where I met Fitzgerald; and with him to a tavern to consider of the instructions for Sir Thomas Allen, against his going to Algier; he and I being designed to go down to Portsmouth by the Council's order to-morrow morning. So I away home, and there bespeak a coach; and so home, and to bed.

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6th. Waked betimes, and my wife at an hour's warning is resolved to go with me; which pleases me, her readiness. But before ready comes a letter from Fitzgerald, that he is seized upon last night by an order of the General's by a file of musqueteers, and kept prisoner in his chamber. The Duke of York did tell me of it to-day: it is about a quarrel between him and Witham, and they fear a challenge. So I to him, and sent my wife by the coach round to Lambeth. I lost my labour going to his lodgings; and he in bed: and staying a great while for him I at last grew impatient, and would stay no longer; but to St. James's to Mr. Wren, to bid him "God be with you!" and so over the water to Fox Hall; and there my wife and Deb. took me up, and we away to Gilford, losing our way for three or four miles about Cobham. At Gilford we dined; and I showed them the hospitall there of Bishop Abbot's,* and his tomb in the church; which, and the rest of the tombs there, are kept mighty clean and neat, with curtains before them. So to coach again, and got to Lippook, late over Hindhead, having an old man a guide in the coach with us;

* George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury. Ob. 1633.



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but got thither with great fear of being out of our way, it being ten at night. Here good, honest people; and after supper to bed.

7th. To coach, and with a guide to Petersfield, where I find Sir Thomas Allen and Mr. Tippets* come; the first about the business, the latter only in respect to me; as also Fitzgerald, who came post all last night, and newly arrived here. We four sat down presently to our business, and in an hour dispatched all our talk; and did inform Sir Thomas Allen well in it, who, I perceive, in serious matters is a serious man: and tells me he wishes all we are told be true, in our defence; for he finds by all that the Turkes have to this day been very civil to our merchantmen every where; and if they would have broke with us, they never had such an opportunity over our rich merchantmen as lately coming out of the Streights. Then to dinner; and pretty merry: and here was Mr. Martin the purser, who dined with us, and wrote some things for us. And so took coach again back: Fitzgerald with us, whom I was pleased with all the day, with his discourse of his observations abroad, as being a great soldier and of long standing abroad; and knows all

* John Tippet, a Surveyor of the Navy; aft erwards knighted.

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things and persons abroad very well,—I mean the great soldiers of France and Spain and Germany; and talkes very well. Came at night to Gilford; where the Red Lyon so full of people, and a wedding, that the master of the house did get us a lodging over the way, at a private house, his landlord's, mighty neat and fine: and there supped; and so to bed.

8th. I hear that Colbert the French Ambassador is come, and hath been at Court *incognito*. When he hath his audience, I know not.

9th. Waited on the Duke of York; and both by him and several of the Privy-council, beyond expectation, I find that my going to Sir Thomas Allen was looked upon as a thing necessary; and I have got some advantage by it among them.

10th. To my Lord Arlington's house, the first time since he came thither, at Goring-house, a very fine, noble place; and there he received me in sight of several Lords with great respect. I did give him an account of my journey. And here, while I waited for him a little, my Lord Orrery took notice of me, and begun discourse of hangings, and of the improvement of shipping; I not thinking that he knew me, but did then discover it with a mighty compliment of my abilities and ingenuity; which I am mighty proud of; and he

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do speak most excellently. To Cooper's, where I spent all the afternoon with my wife and girl, seeing him make an end of her picture; which he did to my great content, though not so great as I confess I expected, being not satisfied in the greatness of the resemblance, nor in the blue garment; but it is most certainly a most rare piece of work as to the painting. He hath 30*l.* for his work, and the chrystal and case and gold case comes to 8*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; and which I sent him this night, that I might be out of his debt.

11th. The Parliament met enough to adjourne to the 10th of November next. At the office all the afternoon till night, being mightily pleased with a trial I have made of the use of a tube-spectacall of paper, tried with my right eye. This day I hear that, to the great joy of the Nonconformists, the time is out of the Act against them; so that they may meet: and they have declared that they will have a morning lecture up again, which is pretty strange; and they are connived at by the King every where, I hear, in the City and country. This afternoon my wife and Mercer and Deb, went with Pelling to see the gypsies at Lambeth, and have their fortunes told; but what they did, I did not enquire.

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12th. Captain Cocke tells me that he hears for certain the Duke of York will lose the authority of an Admirall, and be governed by a Committee: and all our office changed; only they are in dispute whether I shall continue or no; which puts new thoughts in me, but I know not whether to be glad or sorry.

14th. I with Mr. Wren, by invitation, to Sir Stephen Fox's to dinner: where the Cofferer and Sir Edward Savage; where many good stories of the antiquity and estates of many families at this day in Cheshire, and that part of the kingdom, more than what is on this side near London. My Lady dining with us; a very good lady, and a family governed so nobly and neatly as do me good to see it. Thence the Cofferer, Sir Stephen, and I to the Commissioners of the Treasury about business: and so I up to the Duke of York, who enquired for what I had promised him, about my observations of the miscarriages of our office; and I told him he should have it next week, being glad he called for it; for I find he is concerned to do something, and to secure himself thereby, I believe: for the world is labouring to eclipse him, I doubt; I mean the factious part of the Parliament. The office met this afternoon as

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usual, and waited on him; where, among other things, he talked a great while of his intentions of going to Dover soon, to be sworn as Lord Warden; which is a matter of great ceremony and state.

16th. All the morning at my office with W. Hewer; there drawing up my Report to the Duke of York, as I have promised, about the faults of this office.

17th. To Hamstead, to speak with the Atturny-generall; whom we met in the fields, by his old rout and house. And after a little talk about our business of Ackeworth, went and saw the Lord Wotton's* house† and garden, which is wonderfull fine: too good for the house the gardens are, being indeed the most noble that ever I saw, and brave orange and lemon-trees. Thence to Mr. Chichly's by invitation, and there dined with Sir John, his father not coming home. And while at dinner comes by the French Ambassador Colbert's mules (the first I ever saw,) with their

* Henry de Kirkhoven, Lord of Denfleet in Holland, married Katherine widow of Henry Lord Stanhope, and daughter of Lord Wotton; and her second husband, the person here mentioned, was created Lord Wotton, of Wotton in Kent, 1651.

† Belsize House, pulled down long ago.

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sumpter-clothes mighty rich, and his coaches, he being to have his entry to-day: but his things, though rich, are not new; supposed to be the same his brother had the other day at the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, in Flanders.

18th. Alone to the Park; but there were few coaches: among the few there were our two great beauties, my Lady Castlemaine and Richmond; the first time I saw the latter since she had the small pox. I had much pleasure to see them, but I thought they were strange one to another.

20th. To work till past twelve at night, that I might get my great letter to the Duke of York ready against to-morrow; which I shall do, to my great content.

21st. Up betimes, and with my people again to work, and finished all before noon: and then I by water to White Hall, and there did tell the Duke of York that I had done; and he hath desired me to come to him at Sunday next in the afternoon, to read it over; by which I have more time to consider and correct it. To St. James's; and by and by comes Monsieur Colbert the French Ambassador, to make his first visit to the Duke of York, and then to the Duchesse. And I saw it: a

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silly piece of ceremony, he saying only a few formal words. A comely man, and in a black suit and cloak of silk; which is a strange fashion now it hath been so long left off. This day I did first see the Duke of York's room of pictures of some Maids of Honour, done by Lilly: good, but not like.

22d. To the 'Change, and thence home, and took London-bridge in my way; walking down Fish-street and Gracious-street, to see how very fine a descent they have now made down the hill, that it is become very easy and pleasant.

23d. To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Gifford's at our church, upon "Seek ye first the kingdom of Heaven and its righteousness, and all things shall be added to you." A very excellent and persuasive, good and moral sermon. He showed, like a wise man, that righteousness is a surer moral way of being rich, than sin and villany. After dinner to the office, Mr. Gibson and I, to examine my letter to the Duke of York; which, to my great joy, I did very well by my paper tube, without pain to my eyes. And I do mightily like what I have therein done; and did according to the Duke of York's order make haste to St. James's, and about four o'clock got

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thither: and there the Duke of York was ready expecting me, and did hear it all over with extraordinary content; and did give me many and hearty thanks, and in words the most expressive tell me his sense of my good endeavours, and that he would have a care of me on all occasions; and did with much inwardness tell me what was doing, suitable almost to what Captain Cocke tells me, of designs to make alterations in the Navy; and is most open to me in them, and with utmost confidence desires my further advice on all occasions: and he resolves to have my letter transcribed and sent forthwith to the office. So with as much satisfaction as I could possibly or did hope for, and obligation on the Duke of York's side professed to me, I away.

25th. Up, and by water to St. James's; and there with Mr. Wren did discourse about my great letter, which the Duke of York hath given him; and he hath set it to be transcribed by Billings his man, whom, as he tells me, he can most confide in for secresy; and is much pleased with it, and earnest to have it be: and he and I are like to be much together in the considering how to reform the office, and that by the Duke of York's command. Thence I, mightily pleased

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with this success, away to the office; where all the morning, my head full of this business. And it is pretty how Lord Brouncker this day did tell me how he hears that a design is on foot to remove us out of the office; and proposes that we two do agree to draw up a form of a new constitution of the office, there to provide remedies for the evils we are now under, that so we may be beforehand with the world; which I agreed to, saying nothing of my design: and the truth is, he is the best man of them all, and I would be glad next myself to save him; for as he deserves best, so I doubt he needs his place most.

26th. It is strange to see with what speed the people employed do pull down Paul's steeple, and with what ease: it is said that it and the quire are to be taken down this year, and another church begun in the room thereof the next. Home by coach with Sir D. Gauden; who by the way tells me how the City do go on in several things towards the building of the public places, which I am glad to hear; and gives hope that in a few years it will be a glorious place. But we met with several stops and troubles in the way in the streets, so as makes it bad to travel in the dark now through the City. So I to Mr. Bate-

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ller's by appointment, where I find my wife and Deb. and Mercer; Mrs. Pierce and her husband, son, and daughter; and Knipp and Harris, and W. Batelier and his sister Mary and cosen Gumbleton, a good-humoured fat young gentleman, son to the Jeweller, that dances well. And here danced all night long, with a noble supper; and about two in the morning the table spread again for a noble breakfast beyond all moderation; and then broke up.

27th. To St. James's; and there with Mr. Wren did correct his copy of my letter, which the Duke of York hath signed in my very words, without alteration of a syllable. And so, pleased therewith, I to my Lord Brouncker, who I find within, but hath business, and so comes not to the office to-day. And so I by water to the office, where we sat all the morning: and just as the Board rises comes the Duke of York's letter; which I knowing, and the Board not being full, and desiring rather to have the Duke of York deliver it himself to us, I suppressed it for this day, my heart beginning to falsify in this business, as being doubtful of the trouble it may give me by provoking them; but, however, I am resolved to go through it, and it is too late to help it now. At

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noon to dinner to Captain Cocke's, where I met with Mr. Wren; my going being to tell him what I have done, which he likes, and to confer with Cocke about our office; who tells me that he is confident the design of removing our officers do hold, but that he is sure that I am safe enough. So away home; and there met at Sir Richard Ford's with the Duke of York's Commissioners about our prizes, with whom we shall have some trouble before we make an end with them.

28th. To White Hall; where the Duke of York did call me aside, and told me that he must speak with me in the afternoon and with Mr. Wren, for that now he hath got the paper from my Lord Keeper about the exceptions taken against the management of the Navy; and so we are to debate upon answering them. At noon I home with Sir W. Coventry to his house; and there dined with him, and talked freely with him; and did acquaint him with what I have done, which he is well pleased with and glad of: and do tell me that there are endeavours on foot to bring the Navy into new, but, he fears, worse hands. The Duke of York fell to work with us (the Committee being gone) in the Council-cham-

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ber; and there with his own hand did give us his long letter, telling us that he had received several from us, and now did give us one from him, taking notice of our several doubts and failures, and desired answer to it as he therein desired: this pleased me well. And so fell to other business, and then parted. And the Duke of York and Wren and I, it being now candle-light, into the Duke of York's closet in White Hall; and there read over this paper of my Lord Keeper's, wherein are laid down the faults of the Navy, so silly, and the remedies so ridiculous, or else the same that are now already provided, that we thought it not to need any answer, the Duke of York being able himself to do it: that so it makes us admire the confidence of these men to offer things so silly in a business of such moment. But it is a most perfect instance of the complexion of the times! And so the Duke of York said himself; who, I perceive, is mightily concerned in it, and do again and again recommend it to Mr. Wren and me together, to consider upon remedies fit to provide for him to propound to the King, before the rest of the world, and particularly the Commissioners of Accounts, who are men of understanding and order, to find our

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faults, and offer remedies of their own; which I am glad of, and will endeavour to do something in it. So parted, and with much difficulty by candle-light walked over the Matted Gallery, as it is now with the mats and boards all taken up, so that we walked over the rafters. But strange to see how hard matter the plaister of Paris is that is there taken up, as hard as stone! And pity to see Holben's work in the ceiling blotted on and only whited over! My wife this day with Hales, to sit for her hand to be mended in her picture.

29th. Up, and all the morning at the office; where the Duke of York's long letter was read to their great trouble, and their suspecting me to have been the writer of it. And at noon comes by appointment Harris to dine with me: and after dinner he and I to Chyrurgeons'-hall, where they are building it new, very fine; and there to see their theatre, which stood all the fire, and (which was our business) their great picture of Holben's, thinking to have bought it by the help of Mr. Pierce for a little money: I did think to give 200*l.* for it, it being said to be worth 1000*l.*; but it is so spoiled that I have no mind to it, and is not a pleasant though a good picture. Thence

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carried Harris to his playhouse; where, though four o'clock, so few people there at "The Impertinents," as I went out; and do believe they did not act, though there was my Lord Arlington and his company there. So I out, and met my wife in a coach, and stopped her going thither to meet me; and took her and Mercer and Deb. to Bartholomew-fair, and there did see a ridiculous, obscene little stage-play, called "Marry Andrey;" a foolish thing, but seen by every body: and so to Jacob Hall's* dancing of the ropes; a thing worth seeing, and mightily followed.

30th. Lord's-day. Walked to St. James's and Pell-Mell, and read over with Sir W. Coventry my long letter to the Duke of York, and which the Duke of York hath from mine wrote to the Board, wherein he is mightily pleased, and I perceive do put great value upon me, and did talk very openly on all matters of State, and how some people have got the Bill into their mouths (meaning the Duke of Buckingham and his party), and would likely run away with all. But what pleased me mightily was to hear the good charac-

* Jacob Hall, the famous rope-dancer, was said to have received a salary from Lady Castlemaine, who had become enamoured of him.



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ter he did give of my Lord Falmouth for his generosity, good-nature, desire of public good, and low thoughts of his own wisdom; his employing his interest in the King to do good offices to all people, without any other fault than the freedom he do learn in France of thinking himself obliged to serve his King in his pleasures: and was Sir W. Coventry's particular friend; and Sir W. Coventry do tell me very odde circumstances about the fatality of his death, which are very strange.* Thence to White Hall to chapel, and heard the anthem, and did dine with the Duke of Albemarle in a dirty manner as ever. All the afternoon I sauntered up and down the house and Park. And there was a Committee for Tangier met; wherein Lord Middleton would, I think, have found fault with me for want of coles; but I slighted it, and he made nothing of it, but was thought to be drunk; and I see that he hath a mind to find fault with me and Creed, neither of us having yet applied ourselves to him about any thing: but do talk of his profits and perquisites taken from him, and garri-

* I have read the particulars of this prediction in a MS. in the Pepysian Collection, but the reference to it is unfortunately mislaid.

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son reduced, and that it must be increased, and such things as I fear he will be just such another as my Lord Tiviott and the rest to ruin that place. So I to the Park, and there walk an hour or two; and in the King's garden, and saw the Queene and ladies walk; and I did steal some apples off the trees; and here did see my Lady Richmond, who is of a noble person as ever I did see, but her face worse than it was considerably by the small-pox: her sister is also very handsome. So to White Hall in the evening to the Queene's side, and there met the Duke of York; and he did tell me and Sir W. Coventry, who was with me, how the Lord Anglesy did take notice of our reading his long and sharp letter to the Board; but that it was the better, at least he said so. The Duke of York, I perceive, is earnest in it, and will have good effects of it; telling Sir W. Coventry that it was a letter that might have come from the Commissioners of Accounts, but it was better it should come first from him. I met Lord Brouncker; who, I perceive, and the rest, do smell that it comes from me, but dare not find fault with; and I am glad of it, it being my glory and defence that I did occasion and write it. So by water home; and



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did spend the evening with W. Hewer, telling him how we are all like to be turned out, Lord Brouncker telling me this evening that the Duke of Buckingham did within few hours say that he had enough to turn us all out: which I am not sorry for at all, for I know the world will judge me to go for company; and my eyes are such as I am not able to do the business of my office as I used, and would desire to do while I am in it.

31st. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "Hamlet," which we have not seen this year before, or more; and mightily pleased with it, but above all with Betterton, the best part, I believe, that ever man acted.

September 1st. To the fair, and there saw several sights; among others, the mare that tells money and many things to admiration.

2d. Fast-day for the burning of London strictly observed.

3d. To my bookseller's for "Hobbs's Leviathan," which is now mightily called for; and what was heretofore sold for 8*s*. I now give 24*s*. at the second hand, and is sold for 30*s*. it being a book the Bishops will not let be printed again.

4th. To the fair to see the play "Bartholomew-fair," with puppets. And it is an excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it;

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only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale and of no use, they being the people that at last will be found the wisest. This night Knipp tells us that there is a Spanish woman lately come over that pretends to sing as well as Mrs. Knight;* both of whom I must endeavour to hear.

5th. To Mr. Hales's new house, where I find he hath finished my wife's hand, which is better than the other. And here I find Harris's picture done in his habit of "Henry the Fifth;" mighty like a player, but I do not think the picture near so good as any yet he hath made for me: however, it is pretty well.

7th. With my Lord Brouncker (who was this day in an unusual manner merry, I believe with drink), J. Minnes, and W. Pen to Bartholomew-fair; and there saw the dancing-mare again (which to-day I find to act much worse than the other day, she forgetting many things, which her master beat her for, and was mightily vexed,) and then the dancing of the ropes, and also the little stage-play, which is very ridiculous.

* A celebrated singer and favourite of Charles II. Her portrait was engraved in 1749 by Faber, after Kneller. There is in Waller's Poems a song, sung by Mrs. Knight to the Queen on her birthday.

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8th. This day I received so earnest an invitation again from Roger Pepys to come to Stourbridge-fair, that I resolve to let my wife go; which she shall do the next week.

9th. To the Duke of Richmond's lodgings by his desire by letter yesterday. I find him at his lodgings in the little building in the bowling-green, at White Hall, that was begun to be built by Captain Rolt. They are fine rooms. I did hope to see his lady; but she, I hear, is in the country. His business was about his yacht; and he seems a mighty good-natured man, and did presently write me a warrant for a doe from Cobham, when the season comes, buck season being past. I shall make much of this acquaintance, that I may live to see his lady near. Thence to Westminster, to Sir R. Long's office; and going, met Mr. George Montagu, who talked and complimented me mightily; and long discourse I had with him: who, for news, tells me for certain that Trevor do come to be Secretary at Michaelmas, and that Morrice goes out, and, he believes, without any compensation. He tells me that now Buckingham do rule all; and the other day, in the King's journey he is now in, at Bagshot and that way, he caused Prince Rupert's

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horses to be turned out of an inne, and caused his own to be kept there; which the Prince complained of to the King, and the Duke of York seconded the complaint; but the King did overrule it for Buckingham, by which there are high displeasures among them: and Buckingham and Arlington rule all. To White Hall; where Brouncker, W. Pen, and I attended the Commissioners of the Treasury about the victualling-contract; where high words between Sir Thomas Clifford and us, and myself more particularly, who told him that something, that he said was told him about this business, was a flat untruth. However, we went on to our business in the examination of the draught, and so parted, and I vexed at what happened.

13th. (Lord's-day.) By coach to St. James's, and met, to my wish, the Duke of York and Mr. Wren; and understand the Duke of York hath received answers from Brouncker, W. Pen, and J. Minnes; and as soon as he saw me, he bid Mr. Wren read them over with me. So having no opportunity of talk with the Duke of York, and Mr. Wren some business to do, he put them into my hands like an idle companion, to take home with me before himself had read them;

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which do give me great opportunity of altering my answer, if there was cause. After supper made my wife to read them all over, wherein she is mighty useful to me: and I find them all evasions, and in many things false, and in few to the full purpose. Little said reflective on me; though W. Pen and J. Minnes do mean me in one or two places, and J. Minnes a little more plainly would lead the Duke of York to question the exactness of my keeping my records; but all to no purpose. My mind is mightily pleased by this, if I can but get time to have a copy taken of them for my future use; but I must return them to-morrow. So to bed.

14th. Up betimes, and walked to the Temple, and stopped, viewing the Exchange and Paul's and St. Fayth's; where strange how the very sight of the stones falling from the top of the steeple do make me sea-sick! But no hurt, I hear, hath yet happened in all this work of the steeple; which is very much. So from the Temple I by coach to St. James's; where I find Sir W. Pen and Lord Anglesy, who delivered this morning his answer to the Duke of York, but I could not see it. But after being above with the Duke of York, I down with Mr. Wren; and he and I

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read all over that I had, and I expounded them to him, and did so order it that I had them home with me, so that I shall to my heart's wish be able to take a copy of them. After dinner I by water to White Hall; and there, with the Cofferer and Sir Stephen Fox, attended the Commissioners of the Treasury about bettering our fund; and are promised it speedily.

15th. To the King's playhouse to see a new play, acted but yesterday, a translation out of French by Dryden, called "The Ladys à la Mode:" so mean a thing as, when they came to say it would be acted again to-morrow, both he that said it (Beeson *) and the pit fell a-laughing.

16th. Walking it to the Temple, and in my way observe that the stockes are now pulled quite down; and it will make the coming into Cornhill and Lumber-street mighty noble. I stopped too at Paul's, and there did go into St. Fayth's church, and also in the body of the west part of the church; and do see a hideous sight of the walls of the church ready to fall, that I was in fear as long as I was in it: and here I saw the great vaults underneath the body of the church.

* Probably Beeston, who had been Manager of the Cock-pit Theatre.

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No hurt, I hear, is done yet, since their going to pull down the church and steeple; but one man, one Mound, this week fell from the top of the roof of the east end that stands next the steeple, and there broke himself all to pieces. It is pretty here to see how the late church was but a case wrought over the old church; for you may see the very old pillars standing whole within the wall of this. When I come to St. James's, I find the Duke of York gone with the King to see the muster of the Guards in Hide Park; and their Colonell, the Duke of Monmouth, to take his command this day of the King's Life-guard, by surrender of my Lord Gerard. So I took a hackney-coach and saw it all: and indeed it was mighty noble, and their firing mighty fine, and the Duke of Monmouth in mighty rich clothes; but the well-ordering of the men I understand not. Here, among a thousand coaches that were there, I saw and spoke to Mrs. Pierce: and by and by Mr. Wren hunts me out and gives me my Lord Anglesy's answer to the Duke of York's letter; where, I perceive, he do do what he can to hurt me, by bidding the Duke of York call for my books: but this will do me all the right in the world, and yet I am troubled at it. So away out

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of the Park, and home; and there Mr. Gibson and I to dinner: and all the afternoon with him writing over anew and a little altering my answer to the Duke of York, which I have not yet delivered, and so have the opportunity of doing it after seeing all their answers, though this do give me occasion to alter very little. This done, he to write it over, and I to the office; where late, and then home; and he had finished it. And then he to read to me the Life of Archbishop Laud, wrote by Dr. Heylin; which is a shrewd book, but that which I believe will do the Bishops in general no great good, but hurt, it pleads so much for Popery.

18th. To St. James's, and there took a turn or two in the Park; and then up to the Duke of York, and there had opportunity of delivering my answer to his late letter, which he did not read, but give to Mr. Wren, as looking on it as a thing I needed not have done, but only that I might not give occasion to the rest to suspect my communication with the Duke of York against them. So now I am at rest in that matter, and shall be more when my copies are finished of their answers.

19th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw

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"The Silent Woman;" the best comedy, I think, that ever was wrote: and sitting by Shadwell* the poet, he was big with admiration of it. Here was my Lord Brouncker and W. Pen and their ladies in the box, being grown mighty kind of a sudden; but, God knows, it will last but a little while, I dare swear. Knipp did her part mighty well. All the news now is that Mr. Trevor is for certain to be Secretary in Morrice's place, which the Duke of York did himself tell me yesterday; and also that Parliament is to be adjourned to the 1st of March, which do please me well, hoping thereby to get my things in a little better order than I should have done; and the less attendances at that end of the town in winter.

20th. To church, and thence home to dinner, staying till past one o'clock for Harris, whom I invited, and to bring Shadwell the poet with him; but they came not, and so a good dinner lost through my own folly. And so to dinner alone, having since church heard the boy read over Dryden's Reply to Sir R. Howard's Answer about his Essay of Poesy, and a Letter in answer to that; the last whereof is mighty silly, in behalf of Howard. The Duchesse of Monmouth is at this

* Thomas Shadwell, the dramatic writer. Ob. 1692.

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time in great trouble of the shortness of her lame leg, which is likely to grow shorter and shorter, that she will never recover it.

21st. To St. James's, and there the Duke of York did of his own accord come to me and tell me that he had read and do like of my answers to the objections which he did give me the other day about the Navy; and so did Sir W. Coventry too, who told me that the Duke of York had shown him them. To Southwarke-fair, very dirty, and there saw the puppet-show of Whittington, which was pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon people that see it, and even myself too! And thence to Jacob Hall's dancing on the ropes, where I saw such action as I never saw before, and mightily worth seeing; and here took acquaintance with a fellow that carried me to a tavern, whither come the musick of this booth, and by and by Jacob Hall himself, with whom I had a mind to speak, to hear whether he had ever any mischief by falls in his time. He told me, "Yes, many, but never to the breaking of a limb." He seems a mighty strong man. So giving them a bottle or two of wine, I away. So by water by link-light through the bridge, it being mighty dark, but still weather; and so home. This day

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came out first the new five-pieces in gold, coined by the Guiny Company; and I did get two pieces of Mr. Holder.

22d. This day Mr. Wren did give me at the Board Commissioner Middleton's answer to the Duke of York's great letter; so that now I have all of them.

23d. At noon comes Mr. Evelyn to me about some business with the office, and there in discourse tells me of his loss to the value of 500*l.* which he hath met with in a late attempt of making of bricks upon an adventure with others, by which he presumed to have got a great deal of money: so that I see the most ingenious men may sometimes be mistaken.

27th. In the Park, where I met Mr. Wren; and he and I walked together in the Pell-Mell, it being most summer weather that ever was seen. And here talking of several things; of the corruption of the Court, and how unfit it is for ingenuous men, and himself particularly, to live in it, where a man cannot live but he must spend, and cannot get suitably without breach of his honour: and he did thereupon tell me of the basest thing of my Lord Barkeley that ever was heard of any man—which was this:—how the Duke of York's

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Commissioners do let his wine-licenses at a bad rate, and being offered a better, they did persuade the Duke of York to give some satisfaction to the former to quit it, and let it to the latter; which being done, my Lord Barkeley did make the bargain for the former to have 1500*l.* a-year to quit it; whereof since it is come to light that they were to have but 800*l.* and himself 700*l.*, which the Duke of York hath ever since for some years paid, though the second bargain hath been broken, and the Duke of York lost by it half of what the first was. He told me that there had been a seeming accommodation between the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington, the two latter desiring it; but yet that there is not true agreement between them, but they do labour to bring in all new creatures into play, and the Duke of York do oppose it. Thence, he gone, I to the Queene's chapel, and there heard some good singing; and so to White Hall, and saw the King and Queene at dinner: and thence with Sir Stephen Fox to dinner; and the Cofferer with us; and there mighty kind usage, and good discourse. Thence spent all the afternoon walking in the Park, and then in the evening at Court on the Queene's side; and there

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met Mr. Godolphin, who tells me that the news is true we heard yesterday of my Lord Sandwich's being come to Mount's-bay, in Cornwall. This night, in the Queene's drawing-room, my Lord Brouncker told me the difference that is now between the three Embassadors here, the Venetian, French, and Spaniard; the third not being willing to make a visit to the first, because he would not receive him at the door; who is willing to give him as much respect as he did to the French, who was used no otherwise, and who refuses now to take more of him, upon being desired thereto in order to the making an accommodation in this matter.

28th. Knipp's maid comes to me to tell me that the women's day at the playhouse is to-day, and that therefore I must be there to encrease their profit. By water to St. James's, and there had good opportunity of speaking with the Duke of York; who desires me again, talking on that matter, to prepare something for him to do for the better managing of our office; telling me that my Lord Keeper and he talking about it yesterday, my Lord Keeper did advise him to do so, it being better to come from him than otherwise; which I have promised to do. Thence to my

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Lord Burlington's house, the first time I ever was there, it being the house built by Sir John Denham, next to Clarendon-house. And here I visited my Lord Hinchingbroke and his lady; Mr. Sidney Montagu being last night come to town unexpectedly from Mount's-bay, where he left my Lord well eight days since, so as we now hourly expect to hear of his arrivall at Portsmouth. Sidney is mighty grown; and I am glad I am here to see him at his first coming, though it cost me dear, for here I come to be necessitated to supply them with 500*l.* for my Lord.* He sent him up with a declaration to his friends, of the necessity of his being presently supplied with 2000*l.*; but I do not think he will get 1000*l.*: however, I think it becomes my duty to my Lord to do something extraordinary in this, and the rather because I have been remiss in writing to him during this voyage, more than ever I did in my life, and more indeed than was fit for me. By and by comes Sir W. Godolphin to see Mr. Sidney, who, I perceive, is much dissatisfied that he should come to town last night, and not yet be with my Lord Arlington; who, and all the town,

* *Vide* Mr. Pepy's letter to Lord Sandwich on this subject in the Appendix.



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hear of his being come, and he did, it seems, take notice of it to Godolphin this morning. So that I perceive this remissness in affairs do continue in my Lord's managements still: which I am sorry for; but, above all, to see in what a condition my Lord is for money, that I dare swear he do not know where to take up 500*l.* of any man in England at this time upon his word but of myself, as I believe by the sequel hereof it will appear. Here I first saw and saluted my Lady Burlington,* a very fine-speaking lady, and a good woman, but old and not handsome; but a brave woman. Here I also, standing by a candle that was brought for sealing a letter, do set my periwigg a-fire; which made such an odd noise nobody could tell what it was till they saw the flame, my back being to the candle. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The City Match,"† not acted these thirty years, and but a silly play: the King and Court there; the house for the women's sake mighty full. So I to White Hall, and there all the evening on the Queene's side; and it being a most summer-like day, and a fine warm evening,

* Elizabeth, sole daughter and heir to Henry Earl of Cumberland, wife of Richard first Earl of Burlington.

† A comedy, by Jasper Mayne, D. D.

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the Italians came in a barge under the leads before the Queene's drawing-room; and so the Queene and ladies went out and heard them for almost an hour: and the singing was indeed very good together; but yet there was but one voice that alone did appear considerable, and that was Signior Joanni. This done, by and by they went in: and here I saw Mr. Sidney Montagu kiss the Queene's hand, who was mighty kind to him, and the ladies looked mightily on him; and the King came by and by, and did talk to him. So I away by coach with Alderman Backewell home, who is mighty kind to me, more than ordinary, in his expressions. But I do hear this day what troubles me, that Sir W. Coventry is quite out of play, the King seldom speaking to him; and that there is a design of making a Lord Treasurer, and that my Lord Arlington shall be the man; but I cannot believe it. But yet the Duke of Buckingham hath it in his mind, and those with him, to make a thorough alteration in things; and, among the rest, Coventry to be out.

October 12th.* To White Hall to enquire

* A *hiatus* occurs in the Diary at this period for thirteen days; during which Mr. Pepys went into the country, as he subsequently alludes to his having been at Saxham whilst the



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when the Duke of York will be in town, in order to Mr. Turner's going down to Audley End about his place; and here I met in St. James's Park with one that told me that the Duke of York would be in town to-morrow. Home, where I find Sir H. Cholmly come to town; and is come hither to see me: and he is a man that I love mightily, as being of a gentleman the most industrious that ever I saw. He staid with me awhile talking and telling me his obligations to my Lord Sandwich, which I was glad of; and that the Duke of Buckingham is now chief of all men in this kingdom, which I knew before; and that he do think the Parliament will hardly ever meet again; which is a great many men's thoughts, and I shall not be sorry for it. Read a ridiculous nonsensical book set out by Will. Pen for the Quakers; but so full of nothing but nonsense, that I was ashamed to read in it.

13th. With my Lord Brouncker, and did get his ready assent to T. Hater's having of Mr. Turner's place, and so Sir J. Minnes's also: but when we come to sit down at the Board

King was there. He had probably been to Impington to fetch his wife, and perhaps omitted copying his rough notes into the blank pages evidently left for them in the Journal.

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comes to us Mr. Wren this day to town, and tells me that James Southern do petition the Duke of York for the Store-keeper's place of Deptford; which did trouble me much, and also the Board; though upon discourse after he was gone we did resolve to move hard for our Clerks, and that places of preferment may go according to seniority and merit. At my Lord Middleton's; and I did this day find by discourse with somebody that this gentleman was the great Major-general Middleton that was of the Scots army in the beginning of the late war against the King.

14th. To White Hall, and there walked to St. James's, where I find the Court mighty full, it being the Duke of York's birthday; and he mighty fine, and all the musick, one after another, to my great content. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly; and he and I to walk, and to my Lord Barkeley's new house, there to see a new experiment of a cart, which, by having two little wheeles fastened to the axle-tree, is said to make it go with half the ease and more than another cart; but we did not see the trial made. To the King's playhouse, and saw "The Faithful Shepherdess,"* that I might hear the French eunuch sing; which

* A dramatic pastoral, by J. Fletcher.

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I did to my great content; though I do admire his action as much as his singing, being both beyond all I ever saw or heard.

15th. This day at the Board came unexpected the warrants from the Duke of York for Mr. Turner and Hater, for the places they desire; which contents me mightily.

17th. Mr. Moore and Seamour were with me this afternoon; who tell me that my Lord Sandwich was received mighty kindly by the King, and is in exceeding great esteem with him and the rest about him; but I doubt it will be hard for him to please both the King and the Duke of York, which I shall be sorry for. Mr. Moore tells me the sad condition my Lord is in in his estate and debts; and the way he now lives in so high, and so many vain servants about him, that he must be ruined if he do not take up; which, by the grace of God, I will put him upon when I come to see him.

18th. With Lord Brouncker to Lincolne's Inn, and Mr. Ball, to visit Dr. Wilkins, now newly Bishop of Chester: and he received us mighty kindly; and had most excellent discourse from him about his book of Reall Character. And so

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I with Lord Brouncker to White Hall, and there saw the Queene and some ladies.

19th. To the Duke of York's playhouse; and there saw, the first time acted, "The Queene of Arragon,"* an old Blackfriars' play, but an admirable one, so good that I am astonished at it, and wonder where it hath lain asleep all this while that I have never heard of it before.

20th. At this time my wife and I mighty busy laying out money in dressing up our best chamber, and thinking of a coach and coachman and horses, &c.; and the more because of Creed's being now married to Mrs. Pickering;† a thing I could never have expected, but it is done about seven or ten days since. I walked out to look for a coach, and saw many; and did light on one for which I bid 50*l.* which do please me mightily.

21st. Dining with Mr. Batelier, I rose from

* A tragi-comedy, by William Habington. Upon its revival, the prologue and epilogue were written by Butler, the author of Hudibras.

† Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. became the wife of John Creed, Esq. of Oundle, and had issue by him Major Richard Creed, killed at the battle of Blenheim.

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table before the rest, because under an obligation to go to my Lord Brouncker's, where to meet several gentlemen of the Royal Society, to go and make a visit to the French Embassador Colbert at Leicester-house, he having endeavoured to make one or two to my Lord Brouncker as our President: but he was not within, but I came too late. To my Lord Sandwich's lodgings; who came to town the last night, and is come thither to lie: and met with him within: and among others my new cosen Creed, who looks mighty soberly; and he and I saluted one another with mighty gravity, till we came to a little more freedom of talk about it. But here I hear that Sir Gilbert Pickering is lately dead, about three days since; which makes some sorrow there, though not much, because of his being long expected to die, having been in a lethargy long. So waited on my Lord to Court, and there staid and saw the ladies awhile: and thence to my wife, and took them up; and so home, and to supper and bed.

23d. To my Lord Sandwich's, where I find my Lord within, but busy private; and so I staid a little talking with the young gentlemen. And so away with Mr. Pierce the surgeon towards Ty-

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burne, to see the people executed; but came too late, it being done: two men and a woman hanged. Pierce do tell me, among other news, the late frolick and debauchery of Sir Charles Sedley and Buckhurst running up and down all the night, almost naked, through the streets; and at last fighting, and being beat by the watch and clapped up all night; and how the King takes their parts; and my Lord Chief Justice Keeling hath laid the constable by the heels to answer it next Sessions: which is a horrid shame. How the King and these gentlemen did make the fiddlers of Thetford this last progress to sing them all the obscene songs they could think of. How Sir W. Coventry was brought the other day to the Duchesse of York by the Duke of York, to kiss her hand; who did acknowledge his unhappiness to occasion her so much sorrow, declaring his intentions in it, and praying her pardon; which she did give him upon his promise to make good his pretences of innocence to her family by his faithfulness to his master the Duke of York. That the Duke of Buckingham is now all in all, and will ruin Coventry, if he can: and that W. Coventry do now rest wholly upon the Duke of York for his standing; which is a great turn.

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He tells me that my Lady Castlemaine, however, is a mortal enemy to the Duke of Buckingham: which I understand not, but it seems she is disgusted with his greatness and his ill usage of her. That the King was drunk at Saxam* with Sedley, Buckhurst, &c. the night that my Lord Arlington came thither, and would not give him audience, or could not: which is true, for it was the night that I was there and saw the King go up to his chamber, and was told that the King had been drinking. He tells me too that the Duke of York did the next day chide Bab. May for his occasioning the King's giving himself up to these gentlemen, to the neglecting of my Lord Arlington: to which he answered merrily, that there was no man in England that had a head to lose durst do what they do every day with the King, and asked the Duke of York's pardon: which is a sign of a mad world; God bless us out of it!

24th. This morning comes to me the coachmaker, and agreed with me for 53*l.* and to stand to the courtesy of what more I should give him upon the finishing of it. He is likely also to fit me with a coachman.

* Saxham, near Newmarket, in Suffolk, a seat of William Baron Crofts, long since pulled down.

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26th. I was obliged to attend the Duke of York, thinking to have had a meeting of Tangier to-day, but had not: but he did take me and Mr. Wren into his closet, and there did press me to prepare what I had to say upon the answers of my fellow-officers to his great letter; which I promised to do against his coming to town again the next week: and so to other discourse, finding plainly that he is in trouble and apprehensions of the Reformers, and would be found to do what he can towards reforming himself. And so thence to my Lord Sandwich's; where after long stay, he being in talk with others privately, I to him; and there, he taking physic and keeping his chamber, I had an hour's talk with him about the ill posture of things at this time, while the King gives countenance to Sir Charles Sedley and Lord Buckhurst. He tells me that he thinks his matters do stand well with the King, and hopes to have dispatch to his mind; but I doubt it, and do see that he do fear it too. He told me of my Lady Carteret's trouble about my writing of that letter of the Duke of York's lately to the office; which I did not own, but declared to be of no injury to G. Carteret, and that I would write a letter to him to satisfy him therein. But this I

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am in pain how to do without doing myself wrong, and the end I had of preparing a justification to myself hereafter, when the faults of the Navy come to be found out: however, I will do it in the best manner I can.

29th. Mr. Wren first tells us of the order from the King, come last night to the Duke of York, for signifying his pleasure to the Solicitor-generall for drawing up a Commission for suspending of my Lord Anglesy, and putting in Sir Thomas Littleton and Sir Thomas Osborne* (the former a creature of Arlington's, and the latter of the Duke of Buckingham's) during the suspension. The Duke of York was forced to obey, and did grant it, he being to go to Newmarket this day with the King, and so the King pressed for it. But Mr. Wren do own that the Duke of York is the most wounded in this in the world, for it is done and concluded without his privity, after his appearing for him; and that it is plain that they do ayme to bring the Admiralty into Commission too,

* Eldest son of Sir Edward Osborne, Bart.; made a Privy-counsellor 1672, and the following year constituted Lord High Treasurer, and elected K. G. in 1677. He was created Baron Kiveton and Viscount Latimer 1673, Earl of Danby 1674, Marquis of Caermarthen 1689, and Duke of Leeds 1964. Ob. 1712, æt. suæ 81.

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and lessen the Duke of York. This do put strange apprehensions into all our Board; only I think I am the least troubled at it, for I care not at all for it: but my Lord Brouncker and Pen do seem to think much of it.

30th. Up betimes; and Mr. Povy comes to even accounts with me; which we did, and then fell to other talk. He tells me, in short, how the King is made a child of by Buckingham and Arlington, to the lessening of the Duke of York, whom they cannot suffer to be great, for fear of my Lord Chancellor's return, which therefore they make the King violent against. That he believes it is impossible these two great men can hold together long; or, at least, that the ambition of the former is so great that he will endeavour to master all, and bring into play as many as he can. That Anglesy will not lose his place easily, but will contend in law with whoever comes to execute it. That the Duke of York, in all things but in his amours, is led by the nose by his wife. That Sir W. Coventry is now by the Duke of York made friends with the Duchesse; and that he is often there, and waits on her. That he do believe that these present great men will break in time, and that Sir W. Coventry will be a great

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man again; for he do labour to have nothing to do in matters of the State, and is so usefull to the side that he is on, that he will stand, though at present he is quite out of play. That my Lady Castlemaine hates the Duke of Buckingham. That the Duke of York hath expressed himself very kind to my Lord Sandwich; which I am mighty glad of. That we are to expect more changes if these men stand.

31st. This day my Lord Anglesy was at the office, and do seem to make nothing of this business of his suspension, resolving to bring it into Council; where he seems not to doubt to have right, he standing upon his defence and patent; and hath put in his caveats to the several offices: so as soon as the King comes back again, which will be on Tuesday next, he will bring it into the Council.

November 2d. To Mr. Povy's; and there I find my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Hinchingbroke, Charles Harbord, and Sidney Montagu; and there I was stopped, and dined mighty nobly at a good table with one little dish at a time upon it; but mighty merry. I was glad to see it; but sorry, methought, to see my Lord have so little reason to be merry, and yet

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glad for his sake to have him cheerful. After dinner up, and looked up and down the house, and so to the cellar; and thence I slipt away without taking leave.

4th. To White Hall; and there I find the King and Duke of York came the last night, and every body's mouth full of my Lord Anglesy's suspension being sealed, which it was, it seems, yesterday; so that he is prevented in his remedy at the Council. And, it seems, the two new Treasurers did kiss the King's hand this morning, brought in by my Lord Arlington. They walked up and down together in the Court this day, and several people joyed them; but I avoided it, that I might not be seen to look either way. This day also I hear that my Lord Ormond is to be declared in Council no more Deputy Governor of Ireland, his commission being expired: and the King is prevailed with to take it out of his hands; which people do mightily admire, saying that he is the greatest subject of any prince in Christendome, and hath more acres of land than any, and hath done more for his Prince than ever any yet did. But all will not do; he must down, it seems, the Duke of Buckingham carrying all before him. But that that troubles me most is that they begin

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to talk that the Duke of York's regiment is ordered to be disbanded; and more, that undoubtedly his Admiralty will follow: which do shake me mightily, and I fear will have ill consequences in the nation, for these counsels are very mad. The Duke of York do, by all men's report, carry himself wonderfull submissive to the King, in the most humble manner in the world; but yet, it seems, nothing must be spared that tends to the keeping out the Chancellor; and that is the reason of all this. The great discourse now is, that the Parliament shall be dissolved and another called, which shall give the King the Dean and Chapter's lands; and that will put him out of debt. And it is said that Buckingham do knowingly meet daily with Wildman and other Commonwealthmen; and that when he is with them he makes the King believe that he is with his wenches. And something looks like the Parliament's being dissolved, by Harry Brouncker's being now come back, and appearing this day the first day at White Hall; but he hath not been yet with the King, but is secure that he shall be well received, I hear. God bless us when such men as he shall be restored! But that that pleases me most is, that several do tell me that Pen is to be removed;

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and others, that he hath resigned his place; and particularly Spragg tells me for certain that he hath resigned it, and is become a partner with Gauden in the Victualling: in which I think he hath done a very cunning thing; but I am sure I am glad of it; and it will be well for the King to have him out of this office. Sir John Talbot talks mighty high for my Lord of Ormond: and I perceive this family of the Talbots hath been raised by my Lord.

5th. The Duke of York did call me and Mr. Wren; and my paper that I have lately taken pains to draw up was read, and the Duke of York pleased therewith; and we did all along conclude upon answers to my mind for the Board, and that that, if put in execution, will do the King's business. But I do now more and more perceive the Duke of York's trouble, and that he do lie under great weight of mind from the Duke of Buckingham's carrying things against him; and particularly when I advised that he would use his interest that a seaman might come into the room of Sir W. Pen, who is now declared to be gone from us to that of the Victualling, and did show how the office would now be left without one seaman in it but the Surveyor and the Controller, who is



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so old as to be able to do nothing. He told me plainly that I knew his mind well enough as to seamen, but that it must be as others will. And Wren did tell it me as a secret, that when the Duke of York did first tell the King about Sir W. Pen's leaving of the place, and that when the Duke of York did move the King that either Captain Cox or Sir Jer. Smith might succeed him, the King did tell him that that was a matter fit to be considered of, and would not agree to either presently: and so the Duke of York could not prevail for either, nor knows who it shall be. The Duke of York did tell me himself, that if he had not carried it privately when first he mentioned Pen's leaving his place to the King, it had not been done; for the Duke of Buckingham and those of his party do cry out upon it as a strange thing to trust such a thing into the hands of one that stands accused in Parliament: and that they have so far prevailed upon the King that he would not have him named in Council, but only take his name to the Board; but I think he said that only D. Gauden's name shall go in the patent; at least, at the time when Sir Richard Browne asked the King the names of D.

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Gauden's security, the King told him it was not yet necessary for him to declare them. And by and by, when the Duke of York and we had done, Wren brought into the closet Captain Cox and James Temple about business of the Guinea Company; and talking something of the Duke of Buckingham's concernment therein, says the Duke of York, "I shall give the Devil his due," as they say the Duke of Buckingham hath paid in his money to the Company, or something of that kind, wherein he would do right to him. The Duke of York told me how these people do begin to cast dirt upon the business that passed the Council lately touching Supernumeraries, as passed by virtue of his authority there, there being not liberty for any man to withstand what the Duke of York advises there; which, he told me, they bring only as an argument to insinuate the putting of the Admiralty into Commission, which by all men's discourse is now designed, and I perceive the same by him. This being done, and going from him, I up and down the house to hear news: and there every body's mouth full of changes; and, among others, the Duke of York's regiment of Guards that was raised during the



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late war at sea it is to be disbanded: and also, that this day the King do intend to declare that the Duke of Ormond is no more Deputy of Ireland, but that he will put it into Commission. This day our new Treasurers did kiss the King's hand; who complimented them, as they say, very highly,—that he had for a long time been abused in his Treasurer, and that he was now safe in their hands. I saw them walk up and down the Court together all this morning; the first time I ever saw Osborne, who is a comely gentleman. This day I was told that my Lord Anglesy did deliver a petition on Wednesday in Council to the King, laying open, that whereas he had heard that his Majesty had made such a disposal of his place, which he had formerly granted him for life upon a valuable consideration, and that without any thing laid to his charge, and during a Parliament's sessions, he prayed that his Majesty would be pleased to let his case be heard before the Council and the Judges of the land, who were his proper Counsel in all matters of right: to which, I am told, the King, after my Lord's being withdrawn, concluded upon his giving him an answer some few days hence; and so he was called in and told so. At the Treasurer's, Sir Thomas

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Clifford, where I did eat some oysters; which while we were at, in comes my Lord Keeper and much company; and so I thought it best to withdraw. And so away, and to the Swedes Agent's, and there met Mr. Povy; where the Agent would have me stay and dine, there being only them and Joseph Williamson, and Sir Thomas Clayton;* but what he is I know not. Here much extraordinary noble discourse of foreign princes, and particularly the greatness of the King of France, and of his being fallen into the right way of making the kingdom great. I was mightily pleased with this company and their discourse.

6th. To see Roger Pepys at his lodgings next door to Arundell-house, a barber's. And there I did see a book, which my Lord Sandwich hath promised one to me of, "A Description of the Escuriall in Spain;" which I have a great desire to have, though I took it for a finer book when he promised it me.

9th. The Duke of York told me that Sir W. Pen had been with him this morning to ask

* Thomas Clayton, M. D. Professor of Physic, and Anatomy Lecturer at Oxford, for which University he was chosen Member 1660, and afterwards knighted and made Warden of Merton College.

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whether it would be fit for him to sit at the office now, because of his resolution to be gone and to become concerned in the Victualling. The Duke of York answered, Yes, till his contract was signed. Thence I to Lord Sandwich's, and there to see him; but was made to stay very long, as his best friends are, and when I came to him had little pleasure, his head being full of his own business, I think. Thence to White Hall with him to a Committee of Tangier; a day appointed for him to give an account of Tangier, and what he did and found there; which, though he had admirable matter for it, and his doings there were good, and would have afforded a noble account, yet he did it with a mind so low and mean, and delivered in so poor a manner, that it appeared nothing at all, nor any body seemed to value it; whereas he might have shown himself to have merited extraordinary thanks, and been held to have done a very great service: whereas now, all that cost the King hath been at for his journey through Spain thither, seems to be almost lost. After we were up, Creed and I walked together, and did talk a good while of the weak Report my Lord made, and were troubled for it; I fearing that either his mind and

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judgment are depressed, or that he do it out of his great neglect, and so that he do all the rest of his affairs accordingly.

11th. To the office; where by a speciall desire the new Treasurers came, and there did show their Patent and the Great Seal for the suspension of my Lord Anglesy: and here did sit and discourse of the business of the office; and brought Mr. Hutchinson with them, who, I hear, is to be their Paymaster, in the room of Mr. Waith. For it seems they do turn out every servant that belongs to the present Treasurer; and so for Fenn do bring in Mr Lyttleton, Sir Thomas's brother, and oust all the rest. But Mr. Hutchinson do already see that his work now will be another kind of thing than before, as to the trouble of it.

13th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen by coach to White Hall; where to the Duke of York, and there did our usual business. And thence I to the Commissioners of the Treasury; where I staid and heard an excellent case argued between my Lord Gerard and the town of Newcastle, about a piece of ground which that Lord hath got a grant of under the Exchequer Seal, which they were endeavouring to get of the King under the

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Great Seal. I liked mightily the Counsel for the town, Shaftow their Recorder, and Mr. Offly. But I was troubled, and so were the Lords,* to hear my Lord fly out against their† great pretence of merit from the King for their sufferings and loyalty; telling them that they might thank him for that repute which they have for their loyalty, for that it was he that forced them to be so against their wills, when he was there: and, moreover, did offer a paper to the Lords to read from the town, sent in 1648; but the Lords would not read it; but I believe it was something about bringing the King to trial, or some such thing, in that year. Thence I to the Three Tuns Tavern by Charing Cross, and there dined with W. Pen, Sir J. Minnes, and Commissioner Middleton; and as merry as my mind could be, that hath so much trouble upon it at home. And thence to White Hall, and there staid in Mr. Wren's chamber with him reading over my draught of a letter, which Mr. Gibson then attended me with; and there he did like all, but doubted whether it would be necessary for the Duke to write in so sharp a style to the office

* The Lords Commissioners.

† The inhabitants of Newcastle.

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as I had drawn it in: which I yield to him, to consider the present posture of the times and the Duke of York, and whether it were not better to err on that hand than the other. He told me that he did not think it was necessary for the Duke of York to do, and that it would not suit so well with his nature nor greatness; which last perhaps is true, but then do too truly show the effects of having princes in places where order and discipline should be. I left it to him to do as the Duke of York pleases; and so fell to other talk, and with great freedom, of public things. And he told me, upon my several inquiries to that purpose, that he did believe it was not yet resolved whether the Parliament should ever meet more or no, the three great rulers of things now standing thus:—The Duke of Buckingham is absolutely against their meeting, as moved thereto by his people that he advises with, the people of the late times, who do never expect to have any thing done by this Parliament for their religion, and who do propose that, by the sale of the Church-lands, they shall be able to put the King out of debt: my Lord Keeper is utterly against putting away this and choosing another Parliament, lest they prove worse than this, and will make all the

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King's friends, and the King himself, in a desperate condition: my Lord Arlington knows not which is best for him, being to seek whether this or the next will use him worst. He tells me that he believes that it is intended to call this Parliament, and try them with a sum of money; and if they do not like it, then to send them going, and call another who will, at the ruin of the Church perhaps, please the King with what he will have for a time. And he tells me, therefore, that he do believe that this policy will be endeavoured by the Church and their friends,—to seem to promise the King money when it shall be propounded, but make the King and these great men buy it dear before they have it. He tells me that he is really persuaded that the design of the Duke of Buckingham is, by bringing the State into such a condition as, if the King do die without issue, it shall upon his death break into pieces again; and so put by the Duke of York, whom they have disobliged, they know, to that degree as to despair of his pardon. He tells me that there is no way to rule the King but by brisknesse, which the Duke of Buckingham hath above all men; and that the Duke of York having it not, his best way is what he practices, that is to say, a good temper,

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which will support him till the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington fall out, which cannot be long first, the former knowing that the latter did, in the time of the Chancellor, endeavour with the Chancellor to hang him at that time, when he was proclaimed against. And here, by the by, he told me that the Duke of Buckingham did by his friends treat with my Lord Chancellor, by the mediation of Matt. Wren and Clifford, to fall in with my Lord Chancellor; which, he tells me, he did advise my Lord Chancellor to accept of, as that, that with his own interest and the Duke of York's, would undoubtedly have secured all to him and his family; but that my Lord Chancellor was a man not to be advised, thinking himself too high to be counselled: and so all is come to nothing; for by that means the Duke of Buckingham became desperate, and was forced to fall in with Arlington, to his ruin. This morning at the Treasury-chamber I did meet Jack Fenn, and there he did show me my Lord Anglesy's petition and the King's answer: the former good and stout, as I before did hear it; but the latter short and weak, saying that he was not by what the King had done hindered from taking the benefit of his laws, and

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that the reason he had to suspect his mismanagement of his money in Ireland did make him think it unfit to trust him with his Treasury in England till he was satisfied in the former.

15th. After dinner, W. How to tell me what hath happened between him and the Commissioners of late, who are hot again, more than ever, about my Lord Sandwich's business of prizes; which I am troubled for, and the more because of the great security and neglect with which I think my Lord do look upon this matter, that may yet, for ought I know, undo him.

17th. To the office all the morning, where the new Treasurers come their second time, and before they sat down did discourse with the Board, and particularly my Lord Brouncker, about their place, which they challenge as having been heretofore due and given to their predecessor; which, at last, my Lord did own hath been given him only out of courtesy to his quality, and that he did not take it as of right at the Board: so they, for the present, sat down and did give him the place, but I think with an intent to have the Duke of York's directions about it.

20th. This evening comes Mr. Billup to me, to read over Mr. Wren's alterations of my draught

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of a letter for the Duke of York to sign to the Board; which I like mighty well, they being not considerable, only in mollifying some hard terms which I had thought fit to put in. From this to other discourse; and do find that the Duke of York and his master, Mr. Wren, do look upon this service of mine as a very seasonable service to the Duke of York, as that which he will have to show to his enemies in his own justification of his care of the King's business: and I am sure I am heartily glad of it, both for the King's sake and the Duke of York's, and my own also; for if I continue, my work by this means will be the less, and my share in the blame also.

22d. This day my boy's livery is come home, the first I ever had, of greene lined with red; and it likes me well enough.

23d. To visit my Lord Sandwich, who is now so reserved, or moped rather I think with his own business, that he bids welcome to no man, I think, to his satisfaction. I met with Mr. Povy; who tells me that this discourse which I told him of, of the Duke of Monmouth being made Prince of Wales, hath nothing in it; though he thinks there are all the endeavours used in the world to overthrow the Duke of York. He would not have

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me doubt of my safety in the Navy, which I am doubtful of, from the reports of a general removal; but he will endeavour to inform me what he can gather from my Lord Arlington. That he do think that the Duke of Buckingham hath a mind rather to overthrow all the kingdom, and bring in a Commonwealth, wherein he may think to be General of their Army, or to make himself King; which, he believes, he may be led to by some advice he hath had with conjurors, which he do affect.

25th. Mr. Wren and I to his chamber, and there talked: and he seems to hope that these people, the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington, will run themselves off of their legs; they being forced to be always putting the King upon one idle thing or other, against the easiness of his nature, which he will never be able to bear, nor they to keep him to, and so will lose themselves. And, for instance of their little progress, he tells me that my Lord of Ormond is like yet to carry it, and to continue in his command in Ireland; at least, they cannot get the better of him yet. But he tells me that the Keeper is wrought upon, as they say, to give his opinion for the dissolving of the Parliament; which, he thinks, will undo him

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in the eyes of the people. He do not seem to own the hearing or fearing of any thing to be done in the Admiralty to the lessening of the Duke of York, though he hears how the town-talk is full of it.

26th. Troubled at W. Hewer's losing of a tally of 1000*l.*, which I sent him this day to receive of the Commissioners of Excise.

27th. Comes Mr. Povy by appointment to dine with me; and much pleasant discourse with him, and some serious: and he tells me that he would by all means have me get to be a Parliament-man the next Parliament. By and by comes my cosen Roger, and dines with us; and, after dinner, did seal his mortgage, wherein I do wholly rely on his honesty, not having so much as read over what he hath given me for it, nor minded it, but do trust to his integrity therein.

28th. This day presented to the Board the Duke of York's letter; which, I perceive, troubled Sir W. Pen, he declaring himself meant in that part that concerned excuse by sickness; but I do not care, but am mightily glad that it is done, and now I shall begin to be at pretty good ease in the office. This morning, to my great content, W. Hewer tells me that a porter is come who found

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my tally in Holborn, and brings it him, for which he gives him 20*s*.

29th. My wife lately frighted me about her being a Catholique; and I dare not, therefore, move her to go to church, for fear she should deny me. But this morning, of her own accord, she spoke of going to church the next Sunday; which pleases me mightily.

30th. My wife after dinner went the first time abroad in her coach, calling on Roger Pepys, and visiting Mrs. Creed and my cosen Turner. Thus ended this month with very good content, but most expenseful to my purse on things of pleasure, having furnished my wife's closet, and the best chamber, and a coach and horses, that ever I knew in the world; and I am put into the greatest condition of outward state that ever I was in, or hoped ever to be, or desired: and this at a time when we do daily expect great changes in this office; and by all reports we must all of us turn out. But my eyes are come to that condition that I am not able to work; and therefore that and my wife's desire make me have no manner of trouble in my thoughts about it. So God do his will in it!

December 2d. Abroad with my wife, the first

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time that ever I rode in my own coach, which do make my heart rejoice and praise God, and pray him to bless it to me and continue it. So she and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Usurper;"* a pretty good play in all but what is designed to resemble Cromwell and Hugh Peters, which is mighty silly. The play done, we to White Hall; where my wife staid while I up to the Duchesse and Queene's side, to speak with the Duke of York: and here saw all the ladies, and heard the silly discourse of the King with his people about him, telling a story of my Lord Rochester's having of his clothes stole while he was with a wench; and his gold all gone, but his clothes found afterwards stuffed into a feather-bed by the wench that stole them. I spoke with the Duke of York, just as he was set down to supper with the King, about our sending of victuals to Sir Thomas Allen's fleet hence to Cales, to meet him.

3d. Sir Jer. Smith with me; who is a silly, prating, talking man; but he tells me what he hears,—that Holmes and Spragg now rule all with the Duke of Buckingham as to sea-business, and will be great men: but he do prophecy what

* A tragedy, by Edward Howard.



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will be the fruit of it; so I do. So to the office, where we sat all the morning; and at noon home to dinner, and then abroad again with my wife to the Duke of York's playhouse, and saw "The Unfortunate Lovers;"* a mean play I think, but some parts very good, and excellently acted. We sat under the boxes, and saw the fine ladies; among others, my Lady Kerneguy, who is most devilishly painted. And so home, it being mighty pleasure to go alone with my poor wife in a coach of our own to a play, and makes us appear mighty great, I think, in the world; at least, greater than ever I could, or my friends for me, have once expected; or, I think, than ever any of my family ever yet lived in my memory, but my cosen Pepys in Salisbury Court.

4th. Did wait as usual upon the Duke of York; where, upon discoursing something touching the Ticket-office, which by letter the Board did give the Duke of York their advice to be put upon Lord Brouncker, Sir J. Minnes did foolishly rise up and complain of the office, and his being made nothing of; and this before Sir Thomas Littleton, who would be glad of this difference among us: which did trouble me mightily; and therefore I did forbear

* A tragedy, by Sir Wm. Davenant.

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to say what I otherwise would have thought fit for me to say on this occasion, upon so impertinent a speech as this doating fool made—but, I say, I let it alone, and contented myself that it went as I advised, as to the Duke of York's judgment in the thing disputed. Mr. Pickering, who meets me at Smithfield, and I, and W. Hewer, and a friend (a jockey) of his, did go about to see several pairs of horses for my coach; but it was late, and we agreed on none, but left it to another time: but here I do see instances of a piece of craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses. To the office, where vexed to see how ill all the Controller's business is likely to go, as long as ever Sir J. Minnes lives; and so troubled I was that I thought it a good occasion for me to give my thoughts of it in writing, and therefore wrote a letter at the Board, by the help of a tube, to Lord Brouncker, and did give it him, which I kept a copy of, and it may be of use to me hereafter to show in this matter. This being done, I home to my aunt, who supped with us, and my uncle also: and a good-humoured woman she is, so that I think we shall keep her acquaintance; but mighty proud she is of her wedding-ring, being lately set



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with diamonds; cost her about 12*l.*: and I did commend it mightily to her, but do not think it very suitable for one of our quality.

5th. No news stirring, but that my Lord of Ormond is likely to go to Ireland again, which do show that the Duke of Buckingham do not rule all so absolutely; and that, however, we shall speedily have more changes in the Navy: and it is certain that the Nonconformists do now preach openly in houses in many places, and among others the house that was heretofore Sir G. Carteret's in Leadenhall-streete, and have ready access to the King. And now the great dispute is, whether this Parliament or another; and my great design, if I continue in the Navy, is to get myself to be a Parliament-man.

6th. Lord's-day. Up, and with my wife to church; which pleases me mightily, I being full of fear that she would never go to church again, after she had declared to me that she was a Roman Catholique. But though I do verily think she fears God, and is truly and sincerely righteous, yet I do see she is not so strictly a Catholique as not to go to church with me; which pleases me mightily.

7th. Sir W. Coventry says that he hath no

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more mind to be found meddling with the Navy, lest it should do it hurt as well as him. So to talk of general things: and telling him that with all these doings he, I thanked God, stood yet; he told me, Yes, but that he thought his continuing in did arise from his enemies my Lord of Buckingham and Arlington's seeing that he cared so little if he was out; and he do protest to me that he is as weary of the Treasury as ever he was of the Navy. He tells me that he do believe that their heat is over almost as to the Navy, their being now none left of the old stock but my Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes (who is ready to leave the world), and myself. But he tells me that he do foresee very great wants and great disorders by reason thereof; insomuch, as he is represented to the King by his enemies as a melancholy man, and one that is still prophecying ill events, so as the King called him Visionaire; which being told him, he said he answered the party, that, whatever he foresaw, he was not afraid as to himself of any thing, nor particularly of my Lord Arlington so much as the Duke of Buckingham hath been, nor of the Duke of Buckingham so much as my Lord Arlington at this time is. But he tells me that he hath been always looked upon

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as a melancholy man; whereas others that would please the King do make him believe that all is safe: and so he hath heard my Lord Chancellor openly say to the King, that he was now a glorious prince, and in a glorious condition, because of some one accident that hath happened, or some one rut that hath been removed; "when," says Sir W. Coventry, "they reckoned their one good meal, without considering that there was nothing left in the cupboard for to-morrow." After this discourse to my Lord Sandwich's, and took a quarter of an hour's walk in the garden with him, which I have not done for so much time with him since his coming into England; and talking of his own condition, and particularly of the world's talk of his going to Tangier. I find if his conditions can be made profitable and safe as to money, he would go, but not else; but, however, will seem not averse to it, because of facilitating his other accounts now depending; which he finds hard to get through, but yet hath some hopes, the King, he says, speaking very kindly to him.

8th. Up, and Sir H. Cholmly betimes with me, about some accounts and monies due to him: and he gone, I to the office, where sat all the morning.

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And here, among other things, breaks out the storm W. Hewer and I have long expected from the Surveyor, about W. Hewer's conspiring to get a contract to the burdening of the stores with kerseys and cottons, of which he hath often complained, and lately more than ever, and now he did by a most scandalous letter to the Board reflecting on my office: and by discourse it fell to such high words between him and me as can hardly ever be forgot; I declaring I would believe W. Hewer as soon as him, and laying the fault, if there be any, upon himself; he, on the other hand, vilifying of my word and W. Hewer's, calling him knave, and that if he were his clerk he should lose his ears. At last I closed the business for this morning with making the thing ridiculous, as it is, and he swearing that the King should have right in it, or he would lose his place. The office was cleared of all but ourselves and W. Hewer; but, however, the world did by the beginning see what it meant, and it will, I believe, come to high terms between us; which I am sorry for, to have any blemish laid upon me or mine at this time, though never so unjustly, for fear of giving occasion to my real discredit: and therefore I was not only all the rest of the

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morning vexed, but so went home to dinner; where my wife tells me of my Lord Orrery's new play "Tryphon,"* at the Duke of York's house, which, however, I would see, and therefore put a bit of meat in our mouths and went thither; where, with much ado, at half-past one, we got into a blind hole in the 18*d.* place above stairs, where we could not hear well. The house infinite full, but the prologue most silly, and the play, though admirable, yet no pleasure almost in it, because just the very same design, and words, and sense, and plot, as every one of his plays have, any one of which alone would be held admirable, whereas so many of the same design and fancy do but dull one another; and this, I perceive, is the sense of every body else as well as myself, who therefore showed but little pleasure in it. So home mighty hot, and my mind mightily out of order, so as I could not eat my supper, or sleep almost all night; though I spent till twelve at night with W. Hewer to consider of our business: and we find it not only most free from any blame of our side, but so horrid scandalous on the other, to make so groundless a complaint, and one so shameful to him, that it could not but let me see

* A tragedy, taken from the first book of Maccabees, and performed with great success.

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that there is no need of my being troubled; but such is the weakness of my nature that I could not help it, which vexes me, showing me how unable I am to live with difficulties.

10th. Up, and to the office, where busy all the morning: Middleton not there, so no words or looks of him. At noon home to dinner; and so to the office, and there all the afternoon busy. And at night W. Hewer home with me; and we think we have got matter enough to make Middleton appear a coxcomb. But it troubled me to have Sir W. Warren meet me at night going out of the office home, and tell me that Middleton do intend to complain to the Duke of York: but, upon consideration of the business, I did go to bed satisfied that it was best for me that he should; and so my trouble was over, and to bed and slept well.

11th. Up, and with W. Hewer by water to Somerset-house; and there I to my Lord Brouncker before he went forth to the Duke of York, and there told him my confidence that I should make Middleton appear a fool, and that it was, I thought, best for me to complain of the wrong he hath done; but brought it about that my Lord desired me I would forbear, and pro-

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mised that he would prevent Middleton till I had given in my answer to the Board, which I desired. And so away to White Hall, and there did our usual attendance: and no word spoke before the Duke of York by Middleton at all; at which I was glad to my heart, because by this means I have time to draw up my answer to my mind. Concluded upon giving 50*l.* for a fine pair of black horses we saw this day se'nnight; and so set Mr. Pickering down near his house (whom I am much beholden to for his care herein, and he hath admirable skill, I perceive, in this business), and so home.

12th. I hear this day that there is fallen down a new house not quite finished in Lumberd-street, and that there have been several so, they making use of bad mortar and bricks; but no hurt yet, as God hath ordered it. This day was brought home my pair of black coach-horses, the first I ever was master of, a fine pair.

14th. This day I hear, and am glad, that the King hath prorogued the Parliament to October next; and, among other reasons, it will give me time to go to France, I hope.

15th. Up, and to the office, where sat all the morning, and the new Treasurers there; and, for

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my life, I cannot keep Sir J. Minnes and others of the Board from showing our weakness, to the dishonour of the Board, though I am not concerned; but it do vex me to the heart to have it before these people, that would be glad to find out all our weaknesses.

18th. To Lord Brouncker, and got him to read over my paper, who owns most absolute content in it, and the advantage I have in it, and the folly of the Surveyor. At noon home to dinner; and then to Brooke-house, and there spoke with Colonell Thomson, I by order carrying them our Contract-books, from the beginning to the end of the late war. I found him finding of errors in a ship's book, where he showed me many; which must end in the ruin, I doubt, of the Controller, who found them not out in the pay of the ship, or the whole office. To the office, and after some other business done we fell to mine. The Surveyor began to be a little brisk at the beginning; but when I came to the point to touch him, which I had all the advantages in the world to do, he became as calm as a lamb, and owned, as the whole Board did, their satisfaction, and cried excuse: and so all made friends; and their acknowledgment put into writing and delivered into Sir

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J. Minnes's hand, to be kept there for the use of the board or me, when I shall call for it; they desiring it might be so, that I might not make use of it to the prejudice of the Surveyor, whom I had an advantage over by his extraordinary folly in this matter. So Middleton desiring to be friends, I forgave him; and all mighty quiet, and fell to talk of other stories, and there staid all of us till nine or ten at night (more than ever we did in our lives before together).

19th. My wife and I by Hackney to the King's playhouse, and there, the pit being full, sat in the box above, and saw "Catiline's Conspiracy," yesterday being the first day: a play of much good sense and words to read, but that do appear the worst upon the stage, I mean the least diverting, that ever I saw any, though most fine in clothes; and a fine scene of the Senate and of a fight as ever I saw in my life. We sat next to Betty Hall, that did belong to this house, and was Sir Philip Howard's mistress; a mighty pretty wench.

20th. The Duke of York in good humour did fall to tell us many fine stories of the wars in Flanders, and how the Spaniards are the best disciplined foot in the world; will refuse no extraordinary service if commanded, but scorn to be

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paid for it as in other countries, though at the same time they will beg in the streets: not a soldier will carry you a cloak-bag for money for the world, though he will beg a penny, and will do the thing if commanded by his commander. That in the citadel of Antwerp a soldier hath not a liberty of begging till he hath served three years. They will cry out against their King and commanders and generals, none like them in the world, and yet will not hear a stranger say a word of them but they will cut his throat. That upon a time some of the commanders of their army exclaiming against their generals, and particularly the Marquis de Caranen, the Confessor of the Marquis coming by and hearing them, he stops and gravely tells them that the three great trades of the world are, the lawyers, who govern the world; the churchmen, who enjoy the world; and a sort of fellows whom they call soldiers, who make it their work to defend the world. He told us too, that Turenne being now become a Catholique, he is likely to get over the head of Colbert, their interests being contrary; the latter to promote trade and the sea (which, says the Duke of York, is that we have most cause to fear), and Turenne to employ the King and his

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forces by land to encrease his conquests. W. Hewer tells me to-day that he hears that the King of France hath declared in print, that he do intend this next summer to forbid his commanders to strike to us, but that both we and the Dutch shall strike to him; and that he hath made his captains swear it already that they will observe it: which is a great thing if he do it, as I know nothing to hinder him.

21st. Went into Holborne, and there saw the woman that is to be seen with a beard. She is a little plain woman, a Dane; her name, Ursula Dyan; about forty years old; her voice like a little girl's; with a beard as much as any man I ever saw, black almost and grizly: it began to grow at about seven years old, and was shaved not above seven months ago, and is now so big as any man's almost that ever I saw; I say, bushy and thick. It was a strange sight to me, I confess, and what pleased me mightily. Thence to the Duke's playhouse, and saw "Macbeth." The King and Court there; and we sat just under them and my Lady Castlemaine, and close to a woman that comes into the pit, a kind of a loose gossip, that pretends to be like her, and is so something. And my wife, by my troth, appeared,

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I think, as pretty as any of them; I never thought so much before; and so did Talbot and W. Hewer, as they said, I heard, to one another. The King and Duke of York minded me, and smiled upon me, at the handsome woman near me: but it vexed me to see Moll Davis, in the box over the King's and my Lady Castlemaine, look down upon the King, and he up to her; and so did my Lady Castlemaine once, to see who it was; but when she saw Moll Davis, she looked like fire; which troubled me.

23d. Discoursed with Sir John Bankes; who thinks this prorogation will please all but the Parliament itself, which will, if ever they meet, be vexed at Buckingham, who yet governs all. He says the Nonconformists are glad of it, and, he believes, will get the upper-hand in a little time, for the King must trust to them or nobody; and he thinks the King will be forced to it. He says that Sir D. Gauden is mightily troubled at Pen's being put upon him by the Duke of York, and that he believes he will get clear of it; which, though it will trouble me to have Pen still at the office, yet I shall think D. Gauden do well in it, and what I would advise him to, because I love him. I up to my Lord Brouncker at his lodg-

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ings; and sat with him an hour on purpose to talk over the wretched state of this office at present, according to the present hands it is made up of; wherein he do fully concur with me, and that it is our part not only to prepare for defending it and ourselves against the consequences of it, but to take the best ways we can to make it known to the Duke of York; for, till Sir J. Minnes be removed, and a sufficient man brought into W. Pen's place when he is gone, it is impossible for this office ever to support itself.

25th. Christmas-day. To dinner alone with my wife, who, poor wretch! sat undressed all day till ten at night, altering and lacing of a noble petticoat; while I by her making the boy read to me the Life of Julius Cæsar, and Des Cartes' book of Musick.

27th. Lord's day. Saw the King at chapel; but staid not to hear any thing, but went to walk in the Park with W. Hewer; and there, among others, met with Sir G. Downing, and walked with him an hour talking of business, and how the late war was managed, there being nobody to take care of it: and he telling, when he was in Holland, what he offered the King to do if he might have power, and then upon the least word,

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perhaps of a woman, to the King, he was contradicted again, and particularly to the loss of all that we lost in Guinny. He told me that he had so good spies, that he hath had the keys taken out of De W itt's pocket when he was a-bed, and his closet opened and papers brought to him and left in his hands for an hour, and carried back and laid in the place again, and keys put into his pocket again. He says he hath always had their most private debates, that have been but between two or three of the chief of them, brought to him in an hour after, and an hour after that hath sent word thereof to the King, but nobody here regarded them. But he tells me the sad news that he is out of all expectations that ever the debts of the Navy will be paid, if the Parliament do not enable the King to do it by money; all they can hope for to do out of the King's revenue being but to keep our wheels a-going on present services, and, if they can, to cut off the growing interest: which is a sad story, and grieves me to the heart.

28th. Called up by drums and trumpets; these things and boxes having cost me much money this Christmas already, and will do more.



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1668-9. January 1st. Presented from Captain Beckford with a noble silver warming-pan.

4th. W. Hewer and I went and saw the great tall woman that is to be seen, who is but twenty-one years old, and I do easily stand under her arms. To White Hall, where a Committee of Tangier met; and I did receive an instance of the Duke of York's kindness to me, and the whole Committee, that they would not order any thing about the Treasury for the Corporation now in establishing, without my assent and considering whether it would be to my wrong or no. Thence up and down the house, and to the Duke of York's side, and there in the Duchesse's presence; and was mightily complimented by my Lady Peterborough in my Lord Sandwich's presence, whom she engaged to thank me for my kindness to her and her Lord. We also declared our minds together to the Duke of York about Sir John Minnes's incapacity to do any service in the office: he promised to speak to the King about it.

7th. My wife and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Island Princesse,"* the first time I ever saw it; and it is a pretty good play, many good things being in it, and a good scene of

* A tragi-comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

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a town on fire. We sat in an upper box, and the jade Nell came and sat in the next box; a bold merry slut, who lay laughing there upon people; and with a comrade of hers, of the Duke's house, that came in to see the play.

11th. Abroad with my wife to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Joviall Crew;" but ill acted to what it was heretofore in Clun's time, and when Lacy could dance. Thence to the New Exchange, to buy some things; and, among others, my wife did give me my pair of gloves, which by contract she is to give me in her 30*l.* a-year. Here Mrs. Smith tells us of the great murder thereabouts on Saturday last, of one Captain Bumbridge, by one Symons, both of her acquaintance; and hectors that were at play, and in drink: the former is killed, and is kinsman to my Lord of Ormond, which made him speak of it with so much passion.

12th. Mr. Pierce, I asking him whither he was going, told me as a great secret that he was going to his master's mistress, Mrs. Churchill,* with

* Arabella Churchill, sister to John Duke of Marlborough, one of the Maids of Honour to the Duchess of York. James Duke of Berwick and three other children were the fruits of this intrigue. She married subsequently Colonel Godfrey, Comptroller of the Household, and died 1730, aged 82.



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some physic; meaning, I suppose, that she is with child.

15th. To Sir W. Coventry; where with him a good while in his chamber, talking of the great factions at Court at this day, even to the sober engaging of great persons, and differences, and making the King cheap and ridiculous. It is about my Lady Harvy's being offended at Doll Common's acting of Sempronia to imitate her; for which she got my Lord Chamberlain, her kinsman, to imprison Doll: upon which my Lady Castlemaine made the King to release her, and to order her to act it again worse than ever, the other day, where the King himself was; and since it was acted again, and my Lady Harvy provided people to hiss her and fling oranges at her: but it seems the heat is come to a great height, and real troubles at Court about it. Through the Park, where I met the King and the Duke of York, and so walked with them; and I did give the Duke of York thanks for his favour to me yesterday, at the Committee of Tangier, in my absence, (where some business was brought forward which the Duke of York would not suffer to go on without my presence at the debate.) And he answer-

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ed me just thus: that he ought to have a care of him that do the King's business in the manner that I do, and words of more force than that. Then down with Lord Brouncker to Sir R. Murray, into the King's little elaboratory under his closet; a pretty place; and there saw a great many chymical glasses and things, but understood none of them.

16th. Mr. Wren thinks that the Parliament is likely to meet again, the King being frighted with what the Speaker hath put him in mind of,—his promise not to prorogue, but only to adjourne them. They speak mighty freely of the folly of the King in this foolish woman's business of my Lady Harvy. Povy tells me that Sir W. Coventry was with the King alone an hour this day; and that my Lady Castlemaine is now in a higher command over the King than ever,—not as a mistress, for she scorns him, but as a tyrant, to command him: and says that the Duchesse of York and the Duke of York are mighty great with her, which is a great interest to my Lord Chancellor's family; and that they do agree to hinder all they can the proceedings of the Duke of Buckingham and Arlington. And so we are

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in the old mad condition, or rather worse than any; no man knowing what the French intend to do the next summer.

17th. Spoke with my Lords Bellasses and Peterborough about the business now in dispute about my deputing a Treasurer to pay the garrison at Tangier; which I would avoid and not be accountable, and they will serve me therein. Here I met Hugh May, and he brings me to the knowledge of Sir Harry Capell, * a member of Parliament and brother of my Lord of Essex, † who hath a great value it seems for me; and they appoint a day to come and dine with me, and see my books and papers of the office; which I shall be glad to show them, and have opportunity to satisfy them therein. Here all the discourse is, that now the King is of opinion to have the Parliament called, notwithstanding his late resolutions for proroguing them; so unstable are his councils and those about him.

18th. To Sir W. Coventry's, and there discourse the business of my Treasurer's place at

* Made K. B. at the Coronation of Charles II. and created Lord Capel 1692; died at Dublin, while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1696.

† Arthur Capel, created Earl of Essex 1661, found dead in the Tower 1683.

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Tangier; wherein he consents to my desire, and concurs therein: which I am glad of, that I may not be accountable for a man so far off. And so I to my Lord Sandwich's, and there walk with him through the garden to White Hall; where he tells me what he hath done about this Treasurer's place, (and I perceive the whole thing did proceed from him:) that finding it would be best to have the Governor have nothing to do with the pay of the garrison, he did propose to the Duke of York alone that a pay-master should be there; and that being desirous to do a courtesy to Sir Charles Harbord,* and to prevent the Duke of York's looking out for any body else, he did name him to the Duke of York. That when he came the other day to move this to the board of Tangier, the Duke of York it seems did readily reply, that it was fit to have Mr. Pepys satisfied therein first, and that it was not good to make places for persons. This my Lord in great confidence tells me that he do take very ill from the Duke of York, though nobody knew the meaning of these words but him; and that he did take no notice of them, but bit his lip, being satisfied that the Duke of York's care of me was as desirable to

* Sir Charles Harbord, M. P. for Launceston.

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him as it could be to have Sir Charles Harbord: and did seem industrious to let me see that he was glad that the Duke of York and he might come to contend who shall be the kindest to me; which I owned as his great love, and so I hope and believe it is; though my Lord did go a little too far in this business, to move it so far without consulting me. But I took no notice of that, but was glad to see this competition come about, that my Lord Sandwich is apparently jealous of my thinking that the Duke of York do mean me more kindness than him. So we walked together, and I took this occasion to invite him to dinner to my house, and he readily appointed Friday next; which I shall be glad to have over to his content, he having never yet eat a bit of my bread. Thence to the Duke of York on the King's side, and meeting Mr. Sidney Montagu and Sheres, a small invitation served their turn to carry them to London, where I paid Sheres his 100*l.* given him for his pains in drawing the plate of Tangier fortifications. At White Hall, and there in the Queene's withdrawing-room invited my Lord Peterborough to dine with me with my Lord Sandwich, who readily accepted it.

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19th. To the King's house, to see "Horace;"* this the third day of its acting: a silly tragedy; but Lacy hath made a farce of several dances—between each act one: but his words are but silly, and invention not extraordinary as to the dances; only some Dutchmen come out of the mouth and tail of a Hamburgh sow.

20th. Heard at the Council-board the City, by their single Counsel Symson, and the Company of Strangers Merchants, debate the business of water-baylage; a tax demanded upon all goods, by the City, imported and exported: which these Merchants oppose; and demanding leave to try the justice of the City's demand by a Quo Warranto, which the City opposed, the Merchants did quite lay the City on their backs with great triumph, the City's cause being apparently too weak: but here I observed Mr. Gold, the merchant, to speak very well and very sharply against the City. This afternoon before the play I called with my wife at Dancre's,† the great landscape-painter, by

* There were two translations about this period of the "Horace" of P. Corneille; one by Charles Cotton, the other (which was performed at Court) by Catharine Phillips, the fifth act being added by Sir John Denham.

† Henry Dankers, born at the Hague, employed by

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Mr. Povy's advice; and have bespoke him to come to take measure of my dining-room panels.

22d. At the 'Change I met with Mr. Dancre, with whom I was on Wednesday; and he took measure of my panels in my dining-room, where, in the four, I intend to have the four houses of the King, White Hall, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor. Mightily pleased with the fellow that came to lay the cloth and fold the napkins; which I like so well as that I am resolved to give him 40*s.* to teach my wife to do it.

23d. To the office till noon, when word brought me that my Lord Sandwich was come; so I presently rose, and there I found my Lords Sandwich, Peterborough, and Sir Charles Harbord; and presently after them comes my Lord Hinchingbroke, Mr. Sidney, and Sir William Godolphin. And after greeting them and some time spent in talk, dinner was brought up, one dish after another, but a dish at a time; but all so good: but, above all things, the variety of wines and excellent of their kind I had for them, and all in so good order, that they were mightily pleased, and myself full of content at it: and

Charles II. to paint views of his sea-ports and palaces. He followed his profession for some years in London.

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indeed it was, of a dinner of about six or eight dishes, as noble as any man need to have, I think; at least, all was done in the noblest manner that ever I had any, and I have rarely seen in my life better any where else, even at the Court. After dinner my Lords to cards, and the rest of us sitting about them and talking, and looking on my books and pictures, and my wife's drawings, which they commended mightily: and mighty merry all day long with exceeding great content, and so till seven at night; and so took their leaves, it being dark and foul weather. Thus was this entertainment over, the best of its kind and the fullest of honour and content to me that ever I had in my life; and I shall not easily have so good again.

24th. (Lord's-day.) An order brought me in bed, for the principal officers to attend the King at my Lord Keeper's this afternoon, it being resolved late the last night; and by the warrant I find my Lord Keeper did not then know the cause of it, the messenger being ordered to call upon him to tell it him by the way, as he came to us. I to White Hall; and here I met Will. Batelier, newly come post from France, his boots all dirty. He brought letters to the King; and I glad to see him, it having been reported that

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he was drowned for some days past. By and by the King comes out, and so I took coach and followed his coaches to my Lord Keeper's at Essex-house, where I never was before, since I saw my old Lord Essex lie in state when he was dead. A large, but ugly house. Here all the officers of the Navy attended, and by and by were called in to the King and Cabinet, where my Lord, who was ill, did lie upon the bed, as my old Lord Treasurer or Chancellor heretofore used to do. And the business was to know in what time all the King's ships might be repaired fit for service. The Surveyor answered, in two years, and not sooner. I did give them hopes that, with supplies of money suitable, we might have them all fit for sea some part of the summer after this. Then they demanded in what time we could set out forty ships. It was answered, as they might be chosen of the newest and most ready, we could with money get forty ready against May. The King seemed mighty full that we should have money to do all that we desired, and satisfied that without it nothing could be done: and so without determining any thing we were dismissed; and I doubt all will end in some little fleet this year, and that of

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hired merchant-men, which would indeed be cheaper to the King and have many conveniences attending it, more than to fit out the King's own. And this, I perceive, is designed, springing from Sir W. Coventry's counsel; and the King and most of the Lords, I perceive, full of it, to get the King's fleet all at once in condition for service. Thence with Mr. Wren in his coach, for discourse' sake: and he told me how the business of the Parliament is wholly laid aside, it being overruled now that they shall not meet, but must be prorogued, upon this argument chiefly: that all the differences between the two Houses, and things on foot that were matters of difference and discontent, may be laid aside, and must begin again if ever the House shall have a mind to pursue them.

25th. My wife showed me many excellent prints of Nantueil's and others, which W. Batelier hath at my desire brought me out of France, of the King's and Colbert's and others, most excellent, to my great content.

26th. To the office, and then to White Hall, leaving my wife at Unthanke's; and I to the Secretary's chamber, where I was by particular order this day summonsed to attend, as I find Sir

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D. Gauden also was. And here was the King and the Cabinet met; and being called in, among the rest I find my Lord Privy Seale, whom I never before knew to be in so much play as to be of the Cabinet. The business is that the Algerines have broke the peace with us by taking out some Spaniards and goods out of an English ship which had the Duke of York's pass, of which advice came this day; and the King is resolved to stop Sir Thomas Allen's fleet from coming home till he hath amends made him for this affront, and therefore sent for us to advise about victuals to be sent to that fleet, and some more ships: wherein I answered them to what they demanded of me, which was but some few mean things; but I see that on all these occasions they seem to rely most upon me.

27th. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Five Hours' Adventure," which hath not been acted a good while before, but once, and is a most excellent play I must confess.

28th. Going home to supper with my wife, and to get her to read to me, I did find that Mr. Sheres hath beyond his promise not only got me a candlestick made me, after a form he remembers

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to have seen in Spain, for keeping the light from one's eyes, but hath got it done in silver very neat, and designs to give it me in thanks for my paying him his 100*l.* in money for his service at Tangier, which was ordered him; but I do intend to force him to make me pay for it. But I yet, without his direction, cannot tell how it is to be made use of.

29th. To the Duke of York, where I did give a severe account of our proceedings, and what we found in the business of Sir W. Jenings's demand of Supernumeraries. I thought it a good occasion to make an example of him, for he is a proud idle fellow; and it did meet with the Duke of York's acceptance and well-liking; and he did call him in after I had done, and did not only give him a soft rebuke, but condemns him to pay both their victuals and wages, or right himself of the purser. This I was glad of, and so were all the rest of us; though I know I have made myself an immortal enemy by it.

31st. (Lord's-day.) To church, and there did hear the Doctor that is lately turned Divine, Dr. Waterhouse. He preaches in a devout manner, not elegant nor very persuasive, but seems to mean well, and that he would preach holily; and

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was mighty passionate against people that make a scoff of religion.

February 1st. Meeting Mr. Povy, he and I away to Dancre's to speak something touching the pictures I am getting him to make for me. And thence he carried me to Mr. Streeter's* the famous history-painter over the way, whom I have often heard of, but did never see him before; and there I found him and Dr. Wren and several virtuosos looking upon the paintings which he is making for the new Theatre at Oxford: and indeed they look as if they would be very fine, and the rest think better than those of Rubens in the Banqueting-house at White Hall, but I do not so fully think so. But they will certainly be very noble; and I am mightily pleased to have the fortune to see this man and his work, which is very famous. And he a very civil little man, and lame, but lives very handsomely. So thence to my Lord Bellasses, and met him within: my business only to see a chimney-piece of Dancres doing in distemper, with egg to keep off the glaring of the light, which I must have done for my room: and indeed it is pretty, but I must confess I do think it is not altogether so beauti-

* Robert Streater, appointed Serjeant Painter at the Restoration. Ob. 1680.

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ful as the oyle pictures; but I will have some of one and some of another. So to the King's playhouse, thinking to have seen "The Heyresse," first acted on Saturday last: but when we come thither we find no play there; Kinaston, that did act a part therein in abuse to Sir Charles Sedley, being last night exceedingly beaten with sticks by two or three that saluted him, so as he is mightily bruised and forced to keep his bed.

2d. To dinner at noon, where I find Mr. Sheres; and there made a short dinner, and carried him with us to the King's playhouse, where "The Heyresse," notwithstanding Kinaston's being beaten, is acted: and they say the King is very angry with Sir Charles Sedley for his being beaten, but he do deny it. But his part is done by Beeston, who is fain to read it out of a book all the while, and thereby spoils the part, and almost the play, it being one of the best parts in it: and though the design is in the first conception of it pretty good, yet it is but an indifferent play; wrote, they say, by my Lord Newcastle.* But it was pleasant to see Beeston

* "The Heiress" does not appear in the list of the Duke of Newcastle's works, nor can I find any mention of it elsewhere.



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come in with others, supposing it to be dark, and yet he is forced to read his part by the light of the candles: and this I observing to a gentleman that sat by me, he was mightily pleased therewith, and spread it up and down. But that that pleased me most in the play is the first song that Knipp sings (she singing three or four); and indeed it was very finely sung, so as to make the whole house clap her.

5th. Betimes to Sir W. Coventry's, meaning by my visit to keep fresh my interest in him. And he tells me how it hath been talked that he was to go one of the Commisioners to Ireland, which he was resolved never to do unless directly commanded: for that to go thither while the Chief Secretary of State was his professed enemy, was to undo himself; and therefore it were better for him to venture being unhappy here, than to go further off to be undone by some obscure instructions, or whatever other way of mischief his enemy should cut out for him. He mighty kind to me; and so parted.

6th. To the King's playhouse, and there in an upper box (where come in Colonell Poynton and Doll Stacey, who is very fine, and by her wedding-ring I suppose he hath married her at last,) did

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see "The Moor of Venice:" but ill acted in most parts, Moone (which did a little surprize me) not acting Iago's part by much so well as Clun used to do: nor another Hart's, which was Cassio's; nor indeed Burt doing the Moor's so well as I once thought he did. Thence home; and just at Holborne-conduit the bolt broke that holds the fore-wheels to the perch, and so the horses went away with them and left the coachman and us: but being near our coach-maker's, and we staying in a little ironmonger's shop, we were presently supplied with another.

8th. To visit my Lord Sandwich; and there, while my Lord was dressing himself, did see a young Spaniard that he hath brought over with him dance, which he is admired for as the best dancer in Spain, and indeed he do with mighty mastery; but I do not like his dancing as well as the English, though my Lord commends it mightily. But I will have him to my house, and show it my wife. Here I met with Mr. Moore, who tells me the state of my Lord's accounts of his embassy, which I find not so good as I thought: for though it be passed the King and his Caball (the Committee for Foreign Affairs, as they are called,) yet they have cut off from



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19,000*l.* full 8000*l.* and have now sent it to the Lords of the Treasury, who, though the Committee have allowed the rest, yet they are not obliged to abide by it. So that I do fear this account may yet be long ere it be passed,—much more ere that sum be paid. I am sorry for the family.

9th. To the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Island Princesse," which I like mighty well as an excellent play: and here we find Kinaston to be well enough to act again; which he do very well, after his beating by Sir Charles Sedley's appointment.

10th. To the plaisterer's at Charing Cross that casts heads and bodies in plaister: and there I had my whole face done; but I was vexed first to be forced to daub all my face over with pomatum. Thus was the mold made; but when it came off there was little pleasure in it as it looks in the mold, nor any resemblance whatever there will be in the figure when I come to see it cast off. To White Hall, where I staid till the Duke of York came from hunting, which he did by and by, and when dressed did come out to dinner; and there I waited. And he did mightily magnify his sauce, which he did then eat with every thing, and said

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it was the best universal sauce in the world, it being taught him by the Spanish Embassador; made of some parsley and a dry toast, beat in a mortar together with vinegar, salt, and a little pepper: he eats it with flesh, or fowl, or fish. And then he did now mightily commend some new sort of wine lately found out, called Navarr wine; which I tasted, and is, I think, good wine: but I did like better the notion of the sauce, and by and by did taste it, and liked it mightily. After dinner I did what I went for; which was to get his consent that Balty might hold his Muster-master's place by deputy in his new employment which I design for him, about the Store-keeper's accounts; which the Duke of York did grant me, and I was mightily glad of it.

12th. To wait on the Duke of York with the rest of us at the Robes; where the Duke of York did tell us that the King would have us prepare a draught of the present administration of the Navy, and what it was in the late times, in order to his being able to distinguish between the good and the bad; which I shall do, but to do it well will give me a great deal of trouble. Here we showed him Sir J. Minnes's propositions about balancing Store-keeper's accounts; and I did show him

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Hosier's, which did please him mightily, and he will have it showed the Council and King anon to be put in practice. Thence to the Treasurer's; and I and Sir J. Minnes and Mr. Tippets down to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and there had a hot debate from Sir Thomas Clifford and my Lord Ashly (the latter of whom, I hear, is turning about as fast as he can to the Duke of Buckingham's side, being in danger, it seems, of being otherwise out of play, which would not be convenient for him,) against Sir W. Coventry and Sir J. Duncomb; who did uphold our office against an accusation of our Treasurers, who told the Lords that they found that we had run the King in debt 50,000*l.* or more, more than the money appointed for the year would defray; which they declared like fools, and with design to hurt us, though the thing is in itself ridiculous. But my Lord Ashly and Clifford did most horribly cry out against the want of method in the office. At last it came that it should be put in writing what they had to object; but I was devilish mad at it, to see us thus wounded by our own members. Attended with Lord Brouncker the King and Council about the proposition of balancing Storekeeper's accounts; and there presented Hosier's

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book, and it was mighty well resented* and approved of. So the Council being up, we to the Queene's side with the King and Duke of York: and the Duke of York did take me out to talk of our Treasurers, whom he is mighty angry with; and I perceive he is mighty desirous to bring in as many good motions of profit and reformation in the Navy as he can before the Treasurers do light upon them, they being desirous, it seems, to be thought the great reformers: and the Duke of York do well. But to my great joy he is mighty open to me in every thing; and by this means I know his whole mind, and shall be able to secure myself if he stands. Here to-night I understand by my Lord Brouncker, that at last it is concluded on by the King and Buckingham that my Lord of Ormond shall not hold his government of Ireland; which is a great stroke to show the power of Buckingham and the poor spirit of the King, and little hold that any man can have of him. Home, and there Pelling hath got W. Pen's book against the Trinity. I got my wife to read it to me; and I find it so well writ as, I think, it is too good for him ever to have writ it; and it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for every body to read.

* Resent, to take *well* or ill.—*Johnson.*

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14th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry: and there he tells me he takes no more care for any thing more than in the Treasury; and that that being done, he goes to cards and other delights, as plays, and in the summer-time to bowles. But here he did show me two or three old books of the Navy of my Lord Northumberland's* times, which he hath taken many good notes out of, for justifying the Duke of York and us in many things, wherein perhaps precedent will be necessary to produce. Thence to White Hall, where the Duke of York expected me; and in his closet Wren and I. He did tell me how the King hath been acquainted with the Treasurers' discourse at the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury the other day, and is dissatisfied with our running him in debt; which I removed. And he did carry me to the King, and I did satisfy him also: but his satisfaction is nothing worth, it being easily got and easily removed. But I do purpose to put it in writing, that shall make the Treasurers ashamed. But the Duke of York is horrid angry against them; and he hath cause, for they do work all they can to bring dis-

* Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, made Lord High Admiral, 1635.

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honour upon his management, as do plainly appear in all they do. Having done with the Duke of York, who do repose all in me, I with Mr. Wren to his chamber to talk; where he observed, that these people are all of them a broken sort of people that have not much to lose, and therefore will venture all to make their fortunes better: that Sir Thomas Osborne is a beggar, having 11 or 1200*l.* a-year, but owes above 10,000*l.* The Duke of Buckingham's condition is shortly this: that he hath about 19,600*l.* a-year, of which he pays away about 7000*l.* a-year in interest, about 2000*l.* in fee-farm rents to the King, about 6000*l.* in wages and pensions, and the rest to live upon and pay taxes for the whole. Wren says, that for the Duke of York to stir in this matter, as his quality might justify, would but make all things worse, and that therefore he must bend and suffer all till time works it out: that he fears they will sacrifice the Church, and that the King will take any thing (and so he holds up his head a little longer), and then break in pieces. But Sir W. Coventry did to-day mightily magnify my late Lord Treasurer for a wise and solid, though infirm man: and, among other things, that when he hath said it was impossible in nature to find

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this or that sum of money, and my Lord Chancellor hath made sport of it, and told the King that when my Lord hath said it was impossible, yet he hath made shift to find it, and that was by Sir G. Carteret's getting credit, my Lord did once in his hearing say thus, which he magnifies as a great saying—that impossible would be found impossible at last; meaning that the King would run himself out beyond all his credit and funds, and then we should too late find it impossible; which is, he says, now come to pass.

15th. To the plaisterer's, and there saw the figure of my face taken from the mould; and it is most admirably like, and I will have another made before I take it away. At the 'Change I did at my bookseller's shop accidently fall into talk with Sir Samuel Tuke* about trees and Mr. Evelyn's garden; and I do find him, I think, a little conceited, but a man of very fine discourse as any I ever heard almost; which I was mighty glad of. In Suffolk-street lives Moll Davies; and we did see her coach come for her to her door, a mighty pretty fine coach. To White

* Sir Samuel Tuke, of Cressing Temple, Essex, Bart. was a Colonel in Charles the First's army, and cosen to Mr. Evelyn. He died at Somerset-house, January 1673.

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Hall; and there, by means of Mr. Cooling, did get into the play, the only one we have seen this winter: it was "The Five Hours' Adventure:" but I sat so far I could not hear well, nor was there any pretty woman that I did see but my wife, who sat in my Lady Fox's pew with her. The house very full; and late before done, so that it was past eleven before we got home.

17th. The King dining yesterday at the Dutch Embassador's, after dinner they drank and were pretty merry; and among the rest of the King's company there was that worthy fellow my Lord of Rochester, and Tom Killigrew, whose mirth and raillery offended the former so much, that he did give Tom Killigrew a box on the ear in the King's presence; which do give much offence to the people here at Court to see how cheap the King makes himself, and the more, for that the King hath not only passed by the thing and pardoned it to Rochester already, but this very morning the King did publicly walk up and down, and Rochester I saw with him as free as ever, to the King's everlasting shame to have so idle a rogue his companion. How Tom Killigrew takes it, I do not hear. I do also this day hear that my Lord Privy-Seale do accept to go Lieutenant into

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Ireland; but whether it be true or no, I cannot tell. To Colonel Middleton's to the burial of his wife, where we were all invited, and much more company, and had each of us a ring. At church there was my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams in our pew, the first time they were ever there, or that I knew that either of them would go to church.

19th. This morning, among other things, talking with Sir W. Coventry, I did propose to him my putting in to serve in Parliament, if there should, as the world begins to expect, be a new one chose. He likes it mightily, both for the King's and service's sake, and the Duke of York's, and will propound it to the Duke of York: and I confess, if there be one, I would be glad to be in.

22d. In the evening to White Hall, and there did without much trouble get into the playhouse, finding a good place among the Ladies of Honour, and all of us sitting in the pit; and then by and by came the King and Queene, and they began "Bartholomew-fair." But I like no play here so well as at the common playhouse; besides that, my eyes being very ill since last Sunday and this day se'nnight, I was in mighty pain to defend myself now from the light of the candles. After

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the play done, we met with W. Batelier and W. Hewer and Talbot Pepys,* and they followed us in a hackney-coach: and we all stopped at Hercules' Pillars; and there I did give them the best supper I could, and pretty merry; and so home between eleven and twelve at night.

23d. To Westminster Abbey, and there did see all the tombs very finely, having one with us alone (there being other company this day to see the tombs, it being Shrove-Tuesday:) and here we did see, by particular favour, the body of Queen Katherine of Valois; and I had the upper part of her body in my hands, and I did kiss her mouth, reflecting upon it that I did kiss a queene, and that this was my birth-day, thirty-six years old, that I did kiss a queene. But here this man, who seems to understand well, tells me that the saying is not true that she was never buried, for she was buried; only when Henry the Seventh built his chapel, she was taken up and laid in this wooden coffin; but I did there see that in it the body was buried in a leaden one, which remains under the body to this day.

25th. To the Duke of York's house, and there before one, but the house infinite full; where by

* Of Impington. Ob. 1681, æt. suæ 35.

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and by the King and Court come, it being a new play, or an old one new vamped by Shadwell, called "The Royall Shepherdesse;"* but the silliest for words and design, and every thing, that ever I saw in my whole life, there being nothing in the world pleasing in it, but a good martiall dance of pikemen, where Harris and another do handle their pikes in a dance to admiration; but never less satisfied with a play in my life.

26th. To the King's playhouse, and saw "The Faithfull Shepherdesse." But, Lord! what an empty house, there not being, as I could tell the people, so many as to make up above 10*l.* in the whole house! But I plainly discern the musick is the better, by how much the house the emptier.

March 1st. I do hear that my Lady Paulina Montagu did die yesterday! at which I went to my Lord's lodgings, but he is shut up with sorrow, and so not to be spoken with: and therefore I returned, and to Westminster Hall, where I have not been, I think, in some months. And here the Hall was very full, the King having by Commission to some Lords this day prorogued

* A tragi-comedy, altered by Thomas Shadwell from a comedy written by Mr. Fountain, called "The Rewards of Virtue."

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the Parliament till the 19th of October next; at which I am glad, hoping to have time to go over to France this year. But I was most of all surprised this morning by my Lord Bellasses, who by appointment met me at Auditor Wood's at the Temple, and tells me of a duell designed between the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Halifax, or Sir W. Coventry; the challenge being carried by Harry Saville, but prevented by my Lord Arlington, and the King told of it: and this was all the discourse at Court this day. But I meeting Sir W. Coventry in the Duke of York's chamber, he would not own it to me, but told me he was a man of too much peace to meddle with fighting; and so it rested: but the talk is full in the town of the business. Thence, having walked some turns with my cosen Pepys, and most people by their discourse believing that this Parliament will never sit more, I away. I did bring home a piece of my face cast in plaister, for to make a vizard upon for my eyes.

2d. My wife this day put on first her French gown, called a Sac, which becomes her very well.

3d. To White Hall, where W. Hewer met me; and he and I took a turn in St. James's Park, and in the Mall did meet Sir W. Coventry and

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Sir J. Duncomb, and did speak with them about some business, before the Lords of the Treasury: but I did find them more than usually busy, though I knew not then the reason of it, though I guessed it by what followed next day. Thence to Dancre's the painter's, and there saw my picture of Greenwich, finished to my very good content, though this manner of distemper do make the figures not so pleasing as in oyle. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw an old play, the first time acted these forty years, called "The Lady's Tryall,"* acted only by the young people of the house; but the house very full. To the New Exchange, and so called at my cousin Turner's; and there meeting Mr. Bellwood, did hear how my Lord Mayor being invited this day to dinner at the Reader's at the Temple, and endeavouring to carry his sword up, the students did pull it down, and forced him to go and stay all the day in a private Counsellor's chamber until the Reader himself could get the young gentlemen to dinner; and then my Lord Mayor did retreat out of the Temple by stealth, with his sword up. This do make great heat among the students; and my Lord Mayor did send to the

* A tragedy, by John Ford.

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King, and also I hear that Sir Richard Browne did cause the drums to beat for the Train-bands; but all is over, only I hear that the students do resolve to try the Charter of the City. So we home, and betimes to bed, and slept well all night.

4th. To White Hall, where in the first Court I did meet Sir Jeremy Smith, who did tell me that Sir W. Coventry was just now sent to the Tower, about the business of his challenging the Duke of Buckingham, and so was also Harry Saville to the Gate-house; which, as he is a gentleman, and of the Duke of York's Bedchamber, I heard afterwards that the Duke of York is mightily incensed at, and do appear very high to the King that he might not be sent thither, but to the Tower, this being done only in contempt to him. This news of Sir W. Coventry did strike me to the heart, and with reason, for by this and my Lord of Ormond's business I do doubt that the Duke of Buckingham will be so flushed that he will not stop at any thing, but be forced to do any thing now, as thinking it not safe to end here; and, Sir W. Coventry being gone, the King will have no good Counsellor left, nor the Duke of York any sure friend to stick to him; nor any good man will remain to advise what is good. This,



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therefore, do heartily trouble me, as any thing that ever I heard. So up into the House, and met with several people; but the Committee did not meet. And the whole House I find full of this business of Sir W. Coventry's, and most men very sensible of the cause and effects of it. So, meeting with my Lord Bellasses, he told me the particulars of this matter; that it arises about a quarrel which Sir W. Coventry had with the Duke of Buckingham, about a design between him and Sir Robert Howard to bring him into a play at the King's house; which W. Coventry not enduring, did by H. Saville send a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, that he had a desire to speak with him. Upon which, the Duke of Buckingham did bid Holmes (his champion ever since my Lord Shrewsbury's business) go to him to do the business; but H. Saville would not tell it to any but himself, and therefore did go presently to the Duke of Buckingham, and told him that his uncle Coventry was a person of honour, and was sensible of his Grace's liberty taken of abusing him, and that he had a desire of satisfaction, and would fight with him. But that here they were interrupted by my Lord Chamberlain's coming in, who was commanded to go to bid the Duke of

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Buckingham to come to the King, Holmes having discovered it. He told me that the King did last night at the Council ask the Duke of Buckingham, upon his honour, whether he received any challenge from W. Coventry? which he confessed that he had; and then the King asking W. Coventry, he told him that he did not owne what the Duke of Buckingham had said, though it was not fit for him to give him a direct contradiction. But, being by the King put upon declaring the truth upon his honour, he answered that he had understood that many hard questions had upon this business been moved to some lawyers, and that therefore he was unwilling to declare any thing that might from his own mouth render him obnoxious to his Majesty's displeasure, and therefore prayed to be excused: which the King did think fit to interpret to be a confession, and so gave warrant that night for his commitment to the Tower. Being very much troubled at this, I away by coach homewards, and directly to the Tower, where I find him in one Mr. Bennet's house, son to Major Bayly, one of the Officers of the Ordnance, in the Bricke Tower: where I find him busy with my Lord Halifax and his brother; so I would not stay to interrupt



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them, but only to give him comfort and offer my service to him, which he kindly and cheerfully received, only owning his being troubled for the King his master's displeasure, which I suppose is the ordinary form and will of persons in this condition. And so I parted with great content that I had so earlily seen him there; and so, going out, did meet Sir Jer. Smith going to meet me, who had newly been with Sir W. Coventry. And so he and I by water to Redriffe, and so walked to Deptford, where I have not been, I think, these twelve months: and there to the Treasurer's house, where the Duke of York is, and his Duchesse; and there we find them at dinner in the great room, unhung; and there was with them my Lady Duchesse of Monmouth, the Countess of Falmouth, Castlemaine, Henrietta Hide,* my Lady Hinchingbroke's sister, and my Lady Peterborough. And after dinner Sir Jer. Smith and I were invited down to dinner with some of the Maids of Honour, namely, Mrs. Ogle,† Blake,‡

* Henrietta fifth daughter to the Earl of Burlington, married Laurence Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester.

† Anne Ogle.

‡ Mary, daughter of Colonel Blague, married Sir Thomas Yarborough. *Vide "Mémoires de Grammont."*

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and Howard,* (which did me good to have the honour to dine with and look on); and the mother of the Maids, and Mrs. Howard, the mother of the Maid of Honour of that name, and the Duke's housekeeper here. Here was also Monsieur Blancfort, Sir Richard Powell, Colonell Villers, Sir Jonathan Trelawny,† and others. And here drank most excellent, and great variety, and plenty of wines, more than I have drank at once these seven years, but yet did me no great hurt. Having dined very merrily, and understanding by Blancfort how angry the Duke of York was about their offering to send Saville to the Gate-house among the rogues; and then, observing how this company, both the ladies and all, are of a gang, and did drink a health to the union of the two brothers, and talking of others as their enemies, they parted, and so we up: and there I did find the Duke of York and Duchesse with all the great ladies sitting upon a carpet on the ground, there being no chairs, playing at "I love my love with an A, because

* Dorothy Howard.

† Eldest son of Sir John Trelawney, who was created a Baronet 1628. He served with credit in 1672 under Marshal Turenne, and was afterwards made Governor of Plymouth by King William, for his good conduct in Ireland.

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he is so and so; and I hate him with an A, because of this and that:" and some of them, but particularly the Duchesse herself and my Lady Castlemaine, were very witty. This done, they took barge, and I with Sir J. Smith to Captain Cox's; and there to talk, and left them.

5th. After dinner I to the Tower, where I find Sir W. Coventry with abundance of company with him; and after sitting awhile and hearing some merry discourse, and, among others, of Mr. Brouncker's being this day summoned to Sir William Morton,* one of the Judges, to give in security for his good behaviour upon his words the other day to Sir John Morton,† a Parliament-man, at White Hall, who had heretofore spoke very highly against Brouncker in the House, I away, and to Aldgate.

6th. Before the office I stepped to Sir W. Coventry at the Tower, and there had a great deal of discourse with him; among others, of the King's putting him out of the Council yesterday, with which he is well contented, as with what else they can strip him of, he telling me, and so hath long, that he is weary and surfeited of busi-

* Made a Justice of the King's Bench 1665. Ob. 1672.

† M.P. for Weymouth in 1680.

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ness. But he joins with me in his fears that all will go to naught, as matters are now managed. He told me the matter of the play that was intended for his abuse, wherein they foolishly and sillily bring in two tables like that which he hath made with a round hole in the middle in his closet to turn himself in; * and he is to be in one of them as master, and Sir J. Duncomb in the other, as his man or imitator: and their discourse in those tables about the disposing of their books and papers very foolish. But that that he is offended with, is his being made so contemptible, as that any should dare to make a gentleman a subject for the mirth of the world: and that therefore he had told Tom Killigrew that he should tell his actors, whoever they were, that did offer at any thing like representing him, that he would not complain to my Lord Chamberlain, which was too weak, nor get him beaten, as Sir Charles Sedley is said to have done; but that he would cause his nose to be cut. He told me how that the Duke of Buckingham did himself some time since desire to join with him, of all men in England, and did bid him propound to himself to

* *Vide* Diary, July 4, 1668, where Sir W. C.'s round table is described.

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be Chief Minister of State, saying that he would bring it about, but that he refused to have any thing to do with any faction; and that the Duke of Buckingham did, within these few days, say that, of all men in England, he would have chosen Sir W. Coventry to have joined entire with. He tells me that he fears their prevailing against the Duke of York; and that their violence will force them to it, as being already beyond his pardon. He repeated to me many examples of challengings of Privy-counsellors and others; but never any proceeded against with that severity which he is, it never amounting with others to more than a little confinement. He tells me of his being weary of the Treasury, and of the folly, ambition, and desire of popularity of Sir Thomas Clifford; and yet the rudeness of his tongue and passions, when angry.

7th. (Lord's-day.) To the Tower to see Sir W. Coventry, who had H. Jermin and a great many more with him, and more while I was there came in; so that I do hear that there was not less than sixty coaches there yesterday and the other day; which I hear also that there is great exception taken at by the King, and the Duke of Buckingham, but it cannot be helped. I to

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White Hall, and there hear that there are letters come from Sir Thomas Allen, that he hath made some kind of peace with Argier; upon which the King and Duke of York, being to go out of town to-morrow, are met at my Lord Arlington's: so I there, and by Mr. Wren was desired to stay to see if there were occasion for their speaking with me, which I did, walking without, with Charles Porter, talking of a great many things: and I perceive all the world is against the Duke of Buckingham's acting thus high, and do prophecy nothing but ruin from it. But he do well observe that the Church lands cannot certainly come to much, if the King shall be persuaded to take them, they being leased out for long leases. By and by after two hours' stay they rose, having, as Wren tells me, resolved upon sending six ships to the Streights forthwith, not being contented with the peace upon the terms they demand; which are, that all our ships, where any Turks or Moores shall be found slaves, shall be prizes; which will imply that they must be searched. I hear that to-morrow the King and Duke of York set out for Newmarket, by three in the morning, to some foot and horse-races; to be abroad ten or twelve days. So I without seeing

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the Duke of York; but Mr. Wren showed me the order of Council about the balancing Storekeeper's accounts, passed the Council in the very terms I drew it, only I did put in my name as he that presented the book of Hosier's preparing, and that is left out, I mean my name; which is no great matter.

8th. To White Hall, from whence the King and the Duke of York went by three in the morning, and had the misfortune to be overset with the Duke of York, the Duke of Monmouth, and the Prince,* at the King's gate in Holborne; and the King all dirty, but no hurt. How it come to pass I know not, but only it was dark, and the torches did not, they say, light the coach as they should do. I thought this morning to have seen my Lord Sandwich before he went out of town, but I came half an hour too late; which troubles me, I having not seen him since my Lady Pall died. And so to the Privy-Seal office, to examine what records I could find there for my help in the great business I am put upon of defending the present constitution of the Navy; but there could not have liberty without order from him that is in present waiting, Mr. Bickerstaffe, who is out of town.

* Rupert.

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9th. Up, and to the Tower; and there find Sir W. Coventry alone writing down his journall, which, he tells me, he now keeps of the material things; upon which I told him, (and he is the only man I ever told it to, I think,) that I kept it most strictly these eight or ten years; and I am sorry almost that I told it him, it not being necessary, nor maybe convenient, to have it known. Here he showed me the petition he had sent to the King by my Lord Keeper; which was not to desire any admittance to employment, but submitting himself therein humbly to his Majesty; but prayed the removal of his displeasure, and that he might be set free. He tells me that my Lord Keeper did acquaint the King with the substance of it, not showing him the petition; who answered, that he was disposing of his employments, and when that was done he might be led to discharge him: and this is what he expects, and what he seems to desire. But by this discourse he was pleased to take occasion to show me and read to me his account, which he hath kept by him under his own hand, of all his discourse and the King's answers to him upon the great business of my Lord Clarendon, and how he had first moved the Duke of York with it twice

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at good distance, one after another, but without success; showing me thereby the simplicity and reasons of his so doing, and the manner of it; and the King's accepting it, telling him that he was not satisfied in his management, and did discover some dissatisfaction against him for his opposing the laying aside of my Lord Treasurer at Oxford, which was a secret the King had not discovered. And really I was mighty proud to be privy to this great transaction, it giving me great conviction of the noble nature and ends of Sir W. Coventry in it, and considerations in general of the consequences of great men's actions, and the uncertainty of their estates, and other very serious considerations.

11th. Up, and to Sir W. Coventry to the Tower; who tells me that he hears that the Commission is gone down to the King with a blank to fill for his place in the Treasury: and he believes it will be filled with one of our Treasurers of the Navy, but which he knows not, but he believes it will be Osborne. We walked down to the stone-walk, which is called, it seems, my Lord of Northumberland's walk, being paved by some one of that title that was prisoner there; and at the end of it there is a piece of iron upon

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the wall with his armes upon it, and holes to put in a peg for every turn they make upon that walk.

12th. With great content spent all the morning looking over the Navy accounts of several years, and the several patents of the Treasurers. W. Hewer carried me to Nott's, the famous book-binder that bound for my Lord Chancellor's library: and here I did take occasion for curiosity to bespeak a book to be bound, only that I might have one of his binding.

13th. That which put me in good humour both at noon and night, is the fancy that I am this day made a captain of one of the King's ships, Mr. Wren having this day sent me the Duke of York's commission to be captain of "The Jerzy," in order to my being of a Court-martiall for examining the loss of "The Defyance," and other things; which do give me occasion of much mirth, and may be of some use to me, at least I shall get a little money for the time I have it; it being designed that I must really be a captain to be able to sit in this Court.

15th. Up, and by water with W. Hewer to the Temple; and thence to the Rolls, where I made enquiry for several rolls, and was soon in-

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formed in the manner of it: and so spent the whole morning with W. Hewer, he taking little notes in short-hand, while I hired a clerk there to read to me about twelve or more several rolls which I did call for. And it was great pleasure to me to see the method wherein their rolls are kept; that when the master of the office, one Mr. Case, do call for them, (who is a man that I have heretofore known by coming to my Lord Sandwich's,) he did most readily turn to them. At noon they shut up; and W. Hewer and I did walk to the Cocke, at the end of Suffolke-street, where I never was, a great ordinary mightily cried up, and there bespoke a pullet; which while dressing, he and I walked into St. James's Park, and thence back and dined very handsome with a good soup and a pullet for 4*s.* 6*d.* the whole. Thence back to the Rolls, and did a little more business: and so by water to White Hall, whither I went to speak with Mr. Williamson (that if he hath any papers relating to the Navy I might see them, which he promises me.) And so by water home with great content for what I have this day found, having got almost as much as I desire of the history of the Navy, from 1618 to 1642, when the King and Parliament fell out.

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16th. Comes to me Mr. Evelyn of Deptford, a worthy good man, and dined with me (but a bad dinner); who is grieved for and speaks openly to me his thoughts of the times, and our ruin approaching; and all by the folly of the King. His business to me was about some ground of his at Deptford, next to the King's yard: and after dinner we parted. To Woolwich, where I saw, but did not go on board, my ship "The Jerzy," she lying at the wharf under repair. But my business was to speak with Ackworth about some old things and passages in the Navy, for my information therein, in order to my great business now of stating the history of the Navy. This I did; and upon the whole do find that the late times, in all their management, were not more husbandly than we; and other things of good content to me. Thence to Greenwich by water, and there landed at the King's house, which goes on slow, but is very pretty. I to the Park, there to see the prospect of the hill, to judge of Dancre's picture which he hath made thereof for me; and I do like it very well: and it is a very pretty place. Thence to Deptford, but staid not, Unthwayte being out of the way. And so home, and then to the King's Tavern (Morrice's) and staid

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till W. Hewer fetched his uncle Blackburne by appointment to me, to discourse of the business of the Navy in the late times; and he did do it by giving me a most exact account in writing of the several turns in the Admiralty and Navy of the persons employed therein, from the beginning of the King's leaving the Parliament to his son's coming in, to my great content; and now I am fully informed in all I at present desire. We fell to other talk; and I find by him that the Bishops must certainly fall, and their hierarchy; these people have got so much ground upon the King and kingdom as is not to be got again from them: and the Bishops do well deserve it. But it is all the talk, I find, that Dr. Wilkins, my friend, Bishop of Chester, shall be removed to Winchester and be Lord Treasurer. Though this be foolish talk, yet I do gather that he is a mighty rising man, as being a Latitudinarian, and the Duke of Buckingham his great friend.

18th. Up, and to see Sir W. Coventry, and walked with him a good while in the stone-walk: and brave discourse about my Lord Chancellor and his ill managements and mistakes, and several things of the Navy.

19th. Sir Thomas Clifford did speak to me, as

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desirous that I would some time come and confer with him about the Navy; which I am glad of, but will take the direction of the Duke of York before I do it, though I would be glad to do something to secure myself, if I could, in my employment. Thence to the plaisterer's, and took my face and my Lord Duke of Albemarle's home with me by coach, they being done to my mind; and mighty glad I am of understanding this way of having the pictures of any friends. After dinner with Commissioner Middleton and Kempthorne to a Court-martiall, to which, by virtue of my late captainship, I am called, the first I was ever at; where many commanders, and Kempthorne president. Here was tried a difference between Sir L. Van Hemskirke, the Dutch captain who commands "The Nonsuch," built by his direction, and his lieutenant; a drunken kind of silly business. We ordered the lieutenant to ask him pardon, and have resolved to lay before the Duke of York what concerns the captain, which was striking of his lieutenant and challenging him to fight, which comes not within any article of the laws martiall. But upon discourse the other day with Sir W. Coventry I did advise Middleton, and he and I did forbear to give



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judgment, but after the debate did withdraw into another cabin, (the Court being held in one of the yachts, which was on purpose brought up over against St. Katharine's) it being to be feared that this precedent of our being made captains in order to the trying of the loss of "The Defyance," wherein we are the proper persons to enquire into the want of instructions while ships do lie in harbour, might be hereafter made of evil use, by putting the Duke of Buckingham, or any of these rude fellows that now are uppermost, to make packed Courts by captains made on purpose to serve their turns. The other cause was of the loss of the Providence at Tangier, where the captain's being by chance on shore may prove very inconvenient to him, for example's sake, though the man be a good man, and one whom for Norwood's sake I would be kind to; but I will not offer any thing to the excusing such a miscarriage. He is at present confined till he can bring better proofs on his behalf of the reasons of his being on shore. So Middleton and I away to the office; and there I late busy, making my people, as I have done lately, to read Mr. Holland's Discourse of the Navy, and what other things I can get to inform me fully in all. And

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here late, about eight at night, comes Mr. Wren to me, who had been at the Tower to visit Sir W. Coventry. He came only to see how matters go, and tells me as a secret, that the last night the Duke of York's closet was broken open, and his cabinets, and shut again one of them: that the rogue that did it hath left plate and a watch behind him, and therefore they fear that it was only for papers, which looks like a very malicious business in design to hurt the Duke of York; but they cannot know that, till the Duke of York comes to town about the papers, and therefore make no words of it. He gone, I to work again, and then to supper at home, and to bed.

20th. Up, and to the Tower to Sir W. Coventry, and there walked with him alone on the stone-walk till company came to him; and there about the business of the Navy discoursed with him, and about my Lord Chancellor and Treasurer; that they were against the war at first, declaring, as wise men and statesmen, at first to the King, that they thought it fit to have a war with them at some time or other, but that it ought not to be till we found the Crowns of Spain and France together by the eares, the



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want of which did ruin our war. But then he told me that a great while before the war my Lord Chancellor did speak of a war with some heat as a thing to be desired, and did it upon a belief that he could with his own speeches make the Parliament give what money he pleased, and do what he would, or would make the King desire; but he found himself soon deceived of the Parliament, they having a long time before his removal been cloyed with his speeches and good words, and being come to hate him. Sir W. Coventry did tell me it as the wisest thing that ever was said to the King by any statesman of his time, and it was by my Lord Treasurer that is dead, whom, I find, he takes for a very great statesman,—that when the King did show himself forward for passing the Act of Indemnity, he did advise the King that he would hold his hand in doing it till he had got his power restored that had been diminished by the late times, and his revenue settled in such a manner as he might depend on himself without resting upon Parliaments, and then pass it. But my Lord Chancellor, who thought he could have the command of Parliaments for ever, because for the King's sake they were awhile willing to grant all the King

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desired, did press for its being done; and so it was, and the King from that time able to do nothing with the Parliament almost. Mightily pleased with the news brought me to-night that the King and Duke of York are come back this afternoon, and no sooner come but a warrant was sent to the Tower for the releasing Sir W. Coventry; which do put me in some hopes that there may be in this absence some accommodation made between the Duke of York and the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Arlington.

21st. To White Hall, in a scull; where to the Duke of York's dressing-room, and there met Harry Saville, and do understand that Sir W. Coventry is come to his house last night. I understand by Mr. Wren that his friends having by Secretary Trevor and my Lord Keeper applied to the King upon his first coming home, and a promise made that he should be discharged this day, my Lord Arlington did anticipate them by sending a warrant presently for his discharge; which looks a little like kindness, or a desire of it; which God send! though I fear the contrary. However, my heart is glad that he is out. Thence up and down the House. Met Mr. May, who tells me the story of his being put by Sir John Denham's place (of Sur-

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veyor of the King's Works, who, it seems, is lately dead) by the unkindness of the Duke of Buckingham, who hath brought in Dr. Wren. Though, he tells me, he hath been his servant for twenty years together in all his wants and dangers, saving him from want of bread by his care and management, and with a promise of having his help in his advancement, and an engagement under his hand for 1000*l.* not yet paid, and yet the Duke of Buckingham is so ungrateful as to put him by: which is an ill thing, though Dr. Wren is a worthy man. But he tells me that the King is kind to him, and hath promised him a pension of 300*l.* a-year out of the Works; which will be of more content to him than the place, which under their present wants of money is a place that disobliges most people, being not able to do what they desire to their lodgings. Here meeting with Sir H. Cholmly and Povy, they tell me that my Lord Middleton is resolved in the caball that he shall not go to Tangier; and that Sir Edward Harlow, whom I know not, is propounded to go, who was Governor of Dunkirke, and, they say, a most worthy brave man; which I shall be very glad of. News lately come of the Algerines taking 13,000*l.* in money out of one of our Company's East India ships out-

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ward-bound, which will certainly make the war last; which I am sorry for, being so poor as we are, and broken in pieces.

22d. Up, and by water with W. Hewer to White Hall, there to attend the Lords of the Treasury; but before they sat, I did make a step to see Sir W. Coventry at his house, where, I bless God, he is come again; but in my way I met him, and so he took me into his coach and carried me to White Hall, and there set me down, where he ought not, at least he hath not yet leave to come, nor hath thought fit yet to ask it, hearing that Harry Saville is not only denied to kiss the King's hand, but the King being asked it by the Duke of York, the King did deny it, and directed that he shall not receive him to wait upon him in his chamber till further orders. Sir W. Coventry told me that he was going to visit Sir John Trevor, who hath been kind to him; and he showed me a long list of all his friends that he must this week make visits to, that came to visit him in the Tower: and seems mighty well satisfied with his being out of business, but I hope he will not long be so; at least, I do believe that all must go to rack if the King do not come to see the want of such a servant. Thence to the Treasury-chamber, and

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there all the morning to my great grief put to do Sir G. Downing's work of dividing the Customes for this year between the Navy, the Ordnance, and Tangier: but it did so trouble my eyes, that I had rather have given 20*l.* than have had it to do; but I did thereby oblige Sir Thomas Clifford and Sir J. Duncomb, and so am glad of the opportunity to recommend myself to the former, for the latter I need not, he loving me well already. At it till noon, here being several of my brethren with me, but doing nothing, but I all. But this day I did also represent to our Treasurers, which was read here, a state of the charge of the Navy, and what the expence of it this year would likely be; which is done so as will appear well done and to my honour, for so the Lords did take it; and I oblige the Treasurers by doing it at their request. I to look over my papers for the East India Company against the afternoon: which done, I with them to White Hall, and there to the Treasury-chamber, where the East India Company and three Counsellors pleaded against me alone for three or four hours, till seven at night, before the Lords; and the Lords did give me the conquest on behalf of the King, but could

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not come to any conclusion, the Company being stiff; and so I think we shall go to law with them. This done, and my eyes mighty bad with this day's work, I to Mr. Wren's, and then up to the Duke of York, and there with Mr. Wren did propound to him my going to Chatham to-morrow with Commissioner Middleton, and so this week to make the pay there, and examine the business of "The Defyance" being lost.

23d. I took coach with Commissioner Middleton, Captain Tinker, and Mr. Huchinson, and out towards Chatham, and dined at Dartford, where we staid an hour or two, it being a cold day; and so on, and got to Chatham just at night, with very good discourse by the way, but mostly of matters of religion, wherein Huchinson his vein lies.

24th. To the Hill-house, and there did give order for a coach to be made ready; and got Mr. Gibson, whom I carried with me, to go with me and Mr. Coney, the surgeon, towards Maydstone; which I had a mighty mind to see. A mighty cold and windy, but clear day; and had the pleasure of seeing the Medway running winding up and down mightily, and a very fine country: and

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I went a little out of the way to have visited Sir John Bankes, but he at London; but here I had a sight of his seat and house,* the outside, which is an old abbey just like Hinchingbroke, and as good at least, and mightily finely placed by the river; and he keeps the grounds about it, and walls and the house, very handsome: I was mightily pleased with the sight of it. Thence to Maydstone, which I had a mighty mind to see, having never been there; and walked all up and down the town, and up to the top of the steeple and had a noble view, and then down again: and in the town did see an old man beating of flax, and did step into the barn and give him money, and saw that piece of husbandry, which I never saw; and it is very pretty. In the street also I did buy and send to our inne, the Bell, a dish of fresh fish. And so having walked all round the town, and found it very pretty as most towns I ever saw, though not very big, and people of good fashion in it, we to our inne and had a good dinner; and a barber came to me and there trimmed me, that I might be clean against night to go to

* The Friary in Aylesford parish, now the property of the Earl of Aylesford, whose ancestor Heneage Finch married the eldest daughter and coheiress of Sir John Bankes.

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Mrs. Allen. And so staying till four o'clock we set out, I alone in the coach going and coming: and in our way back I light out of the way to see a Saxon monument, as they say, of a King, which is of three stones standing upright, and a great round one lying on them, of great bigness, although not so big as those on Salisbury Plain. But certainly it is a thing of great antiquity, and I am mightily glad to see it: it is near to Alesford, where Sir John Bankes lives. So homeward to Chatham, Captain Allen's, and there light.

25th. Up, and by and by, about eight o'clock, came Rear-Admirall Kempthorne and seven captains more, by the Duke of York's order, as we expected, to hold the Court-martiall about the loss of "The Defyance." And so presently we by boat to "The Charles," which lies over-against Upner Castle; and there I did manage the business, the Duke of York having by special order directed them to take the assistance of Commissioner Middleton and me, forasmuch as there might be need of advice in what relates to the government of the ships in harbour. And so I did lay the law open to them, and rattle the master-attendants out of their wits almost; and

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made the trial last till seven at night, not eating a bit all the day; only when he had done examination, and I given my thoughts that the neglect of the gunner of the ship was as great as I thought any neglect could be, which might by the law deserve death, but Commissioner Middleton did declare that he was against giving the sentence of death, we withdrew, as not being of the Court, and so left them to do what they pleased: and while they were debating it, the boatswain of the ship did bring us out of the kettle a piece of hot salt beef, and some brown bread and brandy; and there we did make a little meal, but so good as I never would desire to eat better meat while I live, only I would have cleaner dishes. By and by they had done, and called us down from the quarter-deck; and there we find they do sentence that the gunner of "The Defyance" should stand upon "The Charles" three hours with his fault writ upon his breast, and with a halter about his neck, and so be made incapable of any service. The truth is, the man do seem, and is, I believe, a good man; but his neglect, in trusting a girl to carry fire into his cabin, is not to be pardoned. This being done, we took boat and home; and there a good supper was ready for us, which

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should have been our dinner. The captains, desirous to be at London, went away presently for Gravesend, to get thither by this night's tide. And so we to supper, it having been a great snowy and mighty cold, foul day; and so after supper to bed.

26th. Up, and with Middleton all the morning at the Docke, looking over the store-houses and Commissioner Pett's house, in order to Captain Cox's coming to live there in his stead as Commissioner. But it is a mighty pretty house; and pretty to see how every thing is said to be out of repair for this new man, though 10*l.* would put it into as good condition in every thing as it ever was in, so free every body is of the King's money! And so to dinner at the Hill-house; and after dinner till eight at night close, Middleton and I, examining the business of Mr. Pett about selling a boat; and we find him a very knave; and some other quarrels of his, wherein to justify himself he hath made complaints of others. This being done, we to supper, and so to talk, Commissioner Middleton being mighty good company upon a journey; and so to bed.

27th. We took coach again, and got home about six at night.

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29th. Up, and by water to White Hall; and there to the Duke of York to show myself after my journey to Chatham, but did no business today with him: only after gone from him, I to Sir T. Clifford's; and there, after an hour's waiting, he being alone in his closet, I did speak with him, and give him the account he gave me to draw up, and he did like it very well: and then fell to talk of the business of the Navy; and giving me good words, did fall foul of the constitution, and did then discover his thoughts, that Sir J. Minnes was too old, and so was Colonell Middleton, and that my Lord Brouncker did mind his mathematics too much. I did not give much encouragement to that of finding fault with my fellow-officers; but did stand up for the constitution, and did say that what faults there were in our office would be found not to arise from the constitution, but from the failures of the officers in whose hands it was. This he did seem to give good ear to; but did give me of myself very good words, which pleased me well, though I shall not build upon them any thing. Thence home; and after dinner by water with Tom down to Greenwich, he reading to me all the way coming and going my collections out of the Duke of York's

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old manuscript of the Navy, which I have bound up, and do please me mightily. At Greenwich I came to Captain Cocke's, where the house full of company at the burial of James Temple, who it seems hath been dead these five days. Here I had a very good ring, which I did give my wife as soon as I came home. I spent my time there walking in the garden talking with James Pierce; who tells me that he is certain that the Duke of Buckingham had been with his wenches all the time that he was absent, which was all the last week, nobody knowing where he was. The great talk is of the King's being hot of late against Conventicles, and to see whether the Duke of Buckingham's being returned will turn the King, which will make him very popular; and some think it is his plot to make the King thus, to show his power in the making him change his mind. But Pierce did tell me that the King did certainly say, that he that took one stone from the Church did take two from his Crown. By and by the corpse came out; and I with Sir Richard Browne and Mr. Evelyn in their coach to the church, where Mr. Plume* preached.

* Thomas Plume, D. D., Vicar of Greenwich 1662, and installed Archdeacon of Rochester 1679. Ob. 1704.

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30th. Up, and to Sir W. Coventry, to see and discourse with him; and he tells me that he hath lately been with my Lord Keeper, and had much discourse about the Navy: and particularly he tells me that he finds they are divided touching me and my Lord Brouncker; some are for removing, and some for keeping us. He told my Lord Keeper that it should cost the King 10,000*l.* before he had made another as fit to serve him in the Navy as I am; which though I believe it is true, yet I am much pleased to have that character given me by Sir W. Coventry, whatever be the success of it. But I perceive they do think that I know too much, and shall impose upon whomever shall come next, and therefore must be removed; though he tells me that Sir T. Clifford is inclined well enough to me, and Sir T. Osborne, by what I have lately done, I suppose. This news is but what I ought not to be much troubled for, considering my incapacity, in regard to my eyes, to continue long at this work.

31st. Up, and by water to Sir W. Coventry's, there to talk with him about business of the Navy, and received from him direction what to advise the Duke of York at this time; which was

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to submit and give way to the King's naming a man or two that the people about him have a mind should be brought into the Navy, and perhaps that may stop their fury in running further against the whole; and this, he believes, will do it. After much discourse with him, I walked out with him into St. James's Park; where, being afraid to be seen with him, (he having not leave yet to kiss the King's hand, but notice taken, as I hear, of all that go to him,) I did take the pretence of my attending the Tangier Committee to take my leave, though to serve him I should, I think, stick at nothing. At the Committee this morning my Lord Middleton declares at last his being ready to go, as soon as ever money can be made ready to pay the garrison: and so I have orders to get money, but how soon I know not. Thence to Dancre's, and there saw our pictures which are in doing; and I did choose a view of Rome instead of Hampton Court; and mightily pleased I shall be in them. Here were Sir Charles Cotterell and his son bespeaking something: both ingenious men, I hear. Thence my wife and I to the Park; and pretty store of company; and so home with great content. And so



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ends the month, my mind in pretty good content for all things but the designs on foot to bring alterations in the office, which trouble me.

April 1st. Up, and with Colonell Middleton (at the desire of Rear-Admirall Kempthorne the president, for our assisting them) to the Court-martiall on board a yacht in the River here to try the business of the purser's complaints, (Baker against Trevanion, his commander, of "The Dartmouth.") But, Lord! to see what wretched doings there were among all the commanders to ruin the purser, and defend the captain in all his rogueries, be it to the prejudice of the King or purser, no good man could bear! I confess I was pretty high, which the young gentlemen commanders did not like: and Middleton did the same. But could not bring it to any issue this day, sitting till two o'clock; and therefore we, being sent for, went to Sir W. Pen's by invitation to dine. At my cosen Turner's, and there we staid awhile and talked: and particularly here we met with Dr. Ball, the parson of the Temple, who did tell me a great many pretty stories about the manner of the parsons being paid for their preaching at Paul's heretofore and now, and the ground of the lecture; and heretofore for the names of

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the founders thereof, which were many, at some 5*s.* some 6*s.* per annum towards it: and had their names read in the pulpit every sermon among those holy persons that the Church do order a collect for giving God thanks for.

2d. To White Hall, and there to the Duke of York's lodgings; whither he, by and by, by his appointment came: and alone with him an hour in his closet, telling him mine and Sir W. Coventry's advice touching the present posture of the Navy, as the Duke of Buckingham and the rest do now labour to make changes therein; and that it were best for him to suffer the King to be satisfied with the bringing in of a man or two whom they desire. I did also give the Duke of York a short account of the history of the Navy as to our office, wherewith he was very well satisfied: but I do find that he is pretty stiff against their bringing in of men against his mind, as the Treasurers were, and particularly against Child's coming in, because he is a merchant. After much discourse with him we parted; and the Council sat while I staid waiting for his telling me when I should be ready to give him a written account of the administration of the Navy, which caused me to wait the whole afternoon, till night.



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In the mean time, stepping to the Duchesse of York's side to speak with Lady Peterborough, I did see the young Duchesse, a little child in hanging sleeves, dance most finely, so as almost to ravish me, her ears were so good. Taught by a Frenchman that did heretofore teach the King, and all the King's children, and the Queene-Mother herself, who do still dance well.

3d. Up, and to the Council of War again with Middleton: but the proceedings of the commanders so devilishly bad, and so professedly partial to the captain, that I could endure it no longer, but took occasion to pretend business at the office, and away, and Colonell Middleton with me, who was of the same mind, and resolved to declare our minds freely to the Duke of York about it.

4th. After dinner with Sir J. Minnes and T. Middleton to White Hall, by appointment; and at my Lord Arlington's the office did attend the King and caball, to discourse of the further quantity of victuals fit to be declared for, which was 2000 men for six months; and so without more ado or stay there, hearing no news but that Sir Thomas Allen is to be expected every hour at

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home with his fleet, or news of his being gone back to Algier. The Queene-Mother hath been of late mighty ill, and some fears of her death.

5th. Went five or six miles towards Branford, where the Prince of Tuscany,* who comes into England only to spend money and see our country, comes into the town to-day, and is much expected; and we met him, but the coach passing by apace we could not see much of him, but he seems a very jolly and good comely man.

6th. Middleton and I did in plain terms acquaint the Duke of York what we thought and had observed in the late Court-martiall; which the Duke of York did give ear to, and though he thinks not fit to revoke what is already done in this case by a Court-martiall, yet it shall bring forth some good laws in the behaviour of captains to their under-officers for the time to come.

7th. To the Lords of the Treasury, where all the morning, and settled matters to their liking

* Cosmo de' Medici, who succeeded his father Ferdinand in the Dukedom of Tuscany 1670. His Tour in England has been recently published.

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about the assignments on the Customes between the Navy-office and Victualler, and to that end spent most of the morning there with D. Gauden. I to the Council-chamber, and there heard the great complaint of the City, tried against the gentlemen of the Temple for the late riot, as they would have it, when my Lord Mayor was there. But, upon hearing the whole business, the City was certainly to blame to charge them in this manner as with a riot; but the King and Council did forbear to determine any thing in it, till the other business of the title and privilege be decided, which is now under dispute at law between them,—whether the Temple be within the liberty of the City, or no. But I was sorry to see the City so ill advised as to complain in a thing where their proofs were so weak.

8th. Up, and to White Hall to the King's side to find Sir T. Clifford, where the Duke of York came and found me; which I was sorry for, for fear he should think I was making friends on that side. But I did put it off the best I could, my being there; and so by and by had opportunity alone to show Sir T. Clifford the fair account I had drawn up of the Customes, which he liked, and seemed mightily pleased with me: and so away to the Excise-office to do a little

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business there: and so to the office, where all the morning.

9th. Up, and by water to White Hall, and there with the Board attended the Duke of York, and Sir Thomas Allen with us (who came to town yesterday;) and it is resolved another fleet shall go to the Streights forthwith, and he command it. But his coming home is mighty hardly talked on by the merchants, for leaving their ships there to the mercy of the Turks: but of this more in my White-book. To the Excise-office, and to several places; among others to Mr. Faythorne's, to have seen an instrument which he was said to have of drawing perspectives, but he had it not; but here I did see his workhouse, and the best things of his doing he had by him.

10th. After dinner comes Mr. Seamour to visit me, a talking fellow: but I hear by him that Captain Trevanion do give it out every where that I did over-rule the whole Court-martiall against him, so long as I was there. And perhaps I may receive at this time some wrong by it; but I care not, for what I did was out of my desire to do justice.

11th. To Loton the landscape-drawer, a Dutchman, living in St. James's Market; but there saw no good pictures. But by accident he did direct

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us to a painter that was then in the house with him, a Dutchman, newly come over, one Evereest,* who took us to his lodging close by, and did show us a little flower-pot of his drawing, the finest thing that ever, I think, I saw in my life; the drops of dew hanging on the leaves, so as I was forced again and again to put my finger to it, to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no. He do ask 70*l.* for it: I had the vanity to bid him 20*l.* But a better picture I never saw in my whole life; and it is worth going twenty miles to see it. Thence, leaving Balty there, I took my wife to St. James's, and there carried her to the Queene's chapel, the first time I ever did it; and heard excellent musick, but not so good as by accident I did hear there yesterday as I went through the Park from White Hall to see Sir W. Coventry, which I have forgot to set down in my Journal yesterday. And going out of the chapel I did see the Prince of Tuscany come out, a comely black fat man, in a mourning-suit; and my wife and I did see him this afternoon through a window in this chapel. All that Sir W. Coven-

* Probably Simon Varelst, a Dutch flower-painter, who practised his art with much success in England about this time.

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try yesterday did tell me new was, that the King would not yet give him leave to come to kiss his hand; and he do believe that he will not in a great while do it, till those about him shall see fit; which I am sorry for. Thence to the Park, my wife and I: and here Sir W. Coventry did first see me and my wife in a coach of our own; and so did also this night the Duke of York, who did eye my wife mightily. But I begin to doubt that my being so much seen in my own coach at this time may be observed to my prejudice; but I must venture it now. So home, and so set down my Journal, with the help of my left eye through my tube, for fourteen days past; which is so much as I hope I shall not run in arrear again, but the badness of my eyes do force me to it.

12th. The whole office attended the Duke of York at his meeting with Sir Thomas Allen and several flag-officers, to consider of the manner of managing the war with Algier; and it being a thing I was wholly silent in, I did only observe; and find that their manner of discourse on this weighty affair was very mean and disorderly, the Duke of York himself being the man that I thought spoke most to the purpose. By water to the Bear-garden, and there happened to sit by Sir

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Fretcheville Hollis, who is still full of his vain-glorious and prophane talk. Here we saw a prize fought between a soldier and a country-fellow, one Warrell, who promised the least in his looks, and performed the most of valour in his boldness and evenness of mind, and smiles in all he did, that ever I saw; and we were all both deceived and infinitely taken with him. He did soundly beat the soldier, and cut him over the head. Thence back to White Hall, mightily pleased all of us with this sight, and particularly this fellow, as a most extraordinary man for his temper and evenness in fighting. This evening coming home we overtook Alderman Backewell's coach and his lady, and followed them to their house, and there made them the first visit, where they received us with extraordinary civility, and owning the obligation. But I do, contrary to my expectation, find her something a proud and vain-glorious woman, in telling the number of her servants and family and expences. He is also so, but he was ever of that strain. But here he showed me the model of his houses that he is going to build in Cornhill and Lumbard-street; but he hath purchased so much there that it looks like a little town, and must have cost him a great deal of money.

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13th. I by hackney-coach to the Spittle, and heard a piece of a dull sermon to my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and thence saw them all take horse and ride away, which I have not seen together many a day: their wives also went in their coaches. And indeed the sight was mighty pleasing. Thence took occasion to go back to a milliner's in Fenchurch-street, whose name I understand to be Clerke; and there her husband inviting me up to the balcony to see the show go by to dinner at Clothworkers'-hall, I did go up, and there saw it go by.

14th. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw "The Impertinents," a play which pleases me well still; but it is with great trouble that I now see a play because of my eyes, the light of the candles making it very troublesome to me. After the play to Creed's. They do here talk mightily of my Lady Paulina making a very good end, and being mighty religious in her life-time; and she hath left many good notes of sermons and religion wrote with her own hand, which nobody ever knew of: which I am glad of; but she was always a peevish lady.

17th. To Sir W. Coventry's, reading over first my draught of the Administration of the Navy, which he do like very well; and so fell to talk

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of his late disgrace, and how basely and in what a mean manner the Duke of Buckingham hath proceeded against him,—not like a man of honour. He tells me that the King will not give other answer, about his coming to kiss his hands, than "Not yet." But he says that this that he desires of kissing the King's hand is only to show to the world that he is not a discontent, and not in any desire to come again into play, though I do perceive that he speaks this with less earnestness than heretofore: and this it may be is, from what he told me lately, that the King is offended at what is talked, that he hath declared himself desirous not to have to do with any employment more. But he do tell me that the leisure he hath yet had do not at all begin to be burdensome to him, he knowing how to spend his time with content to himself; and that he hopes shortly to contract his expence, so as that he shall not be under any straits in that respect neither; and so seems to be in very good condition of content. Thence I away over the Park, it being now night, to White Hall: and there in the Duchesse's chamber do find the Duke of York; and upon my offer to speak with him, he did come to me and withdrew to his closet, and

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there did hear and approve my paper of the Administration of the Navy, only did bid me alter these words, "upon the rupture between the late King and the Parliament," to these, "the beginning of the late Rebellion;" giving it me as but reason to show that it was with the Rebellion that the Navy was put by out of its old good course into that of a Commission. Having done this, we fell to other talk; he with great confidence telling me how matters go among our adversaries, in reference to the Navy, and that he thinks they do begin to flag: but then beginning to talk in general of the excellency of old constitutions, he did bring out of his cabinet, and made me read it, an extract out of a book of my late Lord of Northumberland's, so prophetic of the business of Chatham as is almost miraculous. I did desire, and he did give it me to copy out; which pleased me mightily.

18th. To my office again to examine the fair draught; and so borrowing Sir J. Minnes's coach, he going with Colonell Middleton, I to White Hall, where we all met and did sign it. And then to my Lord Arlington's, where the King and the Duke of York and Prince Rupert, as also Ormond and the two Secretaries, with my Lord

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Ashly and Sir T. Clifford, were. And there by and by being called in, Mr. Williamson did read over our paper, which was in a letter to the Duke of York, bound up in a book with the Duke of York's Book of Instructions. He read it well; and after read, we were bid to withdraw, nothing being at all said to it. And by and by we were called in again, and nothing said to that business; but another begun about the state of this year's action and our wants of money, as I had stated the same lately to our Treasurers; which I was bid, and did largely, and with great content open. And having so done, we all withdrew, and left them to debate our supply of money; to which being called in, and referred to attend on the Lords of the Treasury, we all departed. And I only staid in the House till the Council rose; and then to the Duke of York in the Duchesse's chamber, where he told me that the book was there left with my Lord Arlington for any of the Lords to view that had a mind, and to prepare and present to the King what they had to say in writing to any part of it; which is all we can desire, and so that rested. The Duke of York then went to other talk; and by and by comes the Prince of Tuscany to visit him and the Duchesse; and I

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find that he do still remain *incognito*, and so intends to do all the time he stays here, for avoiding trouble to the King and himself, and expence also to both.

20th. At noon comes my guest Mr. Hugh May, and with him Sir Henry Capell, my old Lord Capell's son, and Mr. Parker. And I had a pretty dinner for them; and both before and after dinner had excellent discourse; and showed them my closet and my office, and the method of it, to their great content: and more extraordinary manly discourse and opportunity of showing myself, and learning from others, I have not in ordinary discourse had in my life, they being all persons of worth, but especially Sir H. Capell, whose being a Parliament-man, and hearing my discourse in the Parliament-house, hath, as May tells me, given him a long desire to know and discourse with me. In the afternoon we walked to the Old Artillery-ground near the Spitalfields, where I never was before, but now by Captain Deane's invitation did go to see his new gun tryed, this being the place where the officers of the Ordnance do try all their great guns; and when we came, did find that the trial had been made, and they going away, with extraordinary report of the

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proof of his gun, which, from the shortness and bigness, they do call Punchinello. But I desired Colonell Legg to stay and give us a sight of her performance; which he did, and there, in short, against a gun more than as long and as heavy again, and charged with as much powder again, she carried the same bullet as strong to the mark, and nearer and above the mark at a point blank than theirs, and is more easily managed, and recoyles no more than that; which is a thing so extraordinary as to be admired for the happiness of his invention, and to the great regret of the old gunners and officers of the Ordnance that were there, only Colonell Legg did do her much right in his report of her. And so having seen this great and first experiment we all parted, I seeing my guests into a hackney-coach, and myself, with Captain Deane, taking a hackney-coach, did go out towards Bow, and went as far as Stratford, and all the way talking of this invention, and he offering me a third of the profit of it; which, for aught I know, or do at present think, may prove matter considerable to us; for either the King will give him a reward for it if he keeps it to himself, or he will give us a patent to make our profit of it; and no doubt but it will be of profit

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to merchantmen and others to have guns of the same force at half the charge. This was our talk; and then to talk of other things, of the Navy in general: and, among other things, he did tell me that he do hear how the Duke of Buckingham hath a spite at me, which I knew before, but value it not; and he tells me that Sir T. Allen is not my friend: but for all this I am not much troubled, for I know myself so usefull that, as I believe, they will not part with me; so I thank God my condition is such that I can retire and be able to live with comfort, though not with abundance.

21st. To Auditor Wood's, and met my Lord Bellasses upon some business of his accounts. Attended the Duke of York a little, being the first time of my waiting on him at St. James's this summer, whither he is now newly gone. And thence walked to White Hall; and so by and by to the Council-chamber, and heard a remarkable cause pleaded between the Farmers of the Excise of Wiltshire, in complaint against the Justices of Peace of Salisbury: and Sir H. Finch was for the former. But, Lord! to see how he did with his admirable eloquence order the matter, is not to be conceived almost: so pleasant a thing it is to hear him plead! After dinner by water to White



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Hall, where the Duke of York did meet our office; and went with us to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury: and there we did go over all the business of the state I had drawn up of this year's action and expence; which I did do to their satisfaction, and convincing them of the necessity of providing more money, if possible, for us. Thence the Duke of York being gone, I did there stay walking with Sir H. Cholmly in the Court, talking of news; where he told me that now the great design of the Duke of Buckingham is to prevent the meeting, since he cannot bring about with the King the dissolving of this Parliament, that the King may not need it; and therefore my Lord St. Alban's is hourly expected with great offers of a million of money to buy our breach with the Dutch; and this, they do think, may tempt the King to take the money, and thereby be out of a necessity of calling the Parliament again, which these people dare not suffer to meet again: but this he doubts, and so do I, that it will be the ruin of the nation if we fall out with Holland.

22d. Up, and to the office, where all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and Captain Deane with us; and very good discourse, and particu-

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larly about my getting a book for him to draw up his whole theory of shipping; which at my desire he hath gone far in, and hath shown me what he hath done therein to admiration. I did give him a parallelogram, which he is mightily taken with. And so after dinner to the office, where all the afternoon till night late, and then home.

23d. To the Council-chamber, and heard two or three causes; among others that of the complaint of Sir Philip Howard and Watson, the inventors, as they pretend, of the business of varnishing and lackerworke, against the Company of Painters, who take upon them to do the same thing; where I saw a great instance of the weakness of a young Counsel they used to such an audience, against the Solicitor-generall and two more able Counsel used to it. Though he had the right of his side, and did prevail for what he pretended to against the rest, yet it was with much disadvantage and hazard. Here I also heard Mr. Papillion make his defence to the King against some complaints of the Farmers of Excise; but it was so weak, and done only by his own seeking, that it was to his injury more than profit, and made his case the worse, being ill-managed, and in a cause against the King.



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25th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and to my office awhile, and thither comes Lead with my vizard, with a tube fastened within both eyes; which, with the help which he prompts me to, of a glass in the tube, do content me mightily. W. How came and dined with us; and then I to my office, he being gone, to write down my Journal for the last twelve days: and did it with the help of my vizard and tube fixed to it, and do find it mighty manageable, but how helpfull to my eyes this trial will show me. So abroad with my wife in the afternoon to the Park, where very much company, and the weather very pleasant. I carried my wife to the Lodge, the first time this year, and there in our coach eat a cheesecake and drank a tankard of milk. I showed her this day also first the Prince of Tuscany, who was in the Park, and many very fine ladies.

26th. After dinner comes Colonell Macknachan, one that I see often at Court, a Scotchman, but know him not; only he brings me a letter from my Lord Middleton, who, he says, is in great distress for 500*l.* to relieve my Lord Morton* with (but upon what account I know not;) and he

* William, ninth Earl of Morton, who had married Lord Middleton's daughter Grizel.

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would have me advance it without order upon his pay for Tangier; which I was astonished at, but had the grace to deny him with an excuse. And so he went away, leaving me a little troubled that I was thus driven on a sudden to do any thing herein: but Creed coming just now to see me, he approves of what I have done. A great fire happened in Durham-yard last night, burning the house of one Lady Hungerford, who was to come to town to it this night; and so the house is burned, new furnished, by carelessness of the girl sent to take off a candle from a bunch of candles, which she did by burning it off, and left the rest, as is supposed, on fire. The King and Court were here, it seems, and stopped the fire by blowing up of the next house. The King and Court went out of town to Newmarket this morning betimes, for a week.

28th. Up, and was called upon by Sir H. Cholmly to discourse about some accounts of his of Tangier: and then to other talk. And I find by him that it is brought almost to effect, the late endeavours of the Duke of York and Duchesse, the Queene-Mother, and my Lord St. Alban's, together with some of the contrary faction, as my Lord Arlington, that for a sum of

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money we shall enter into a league with the King of France, wherein, he says, my Lord Chancellor is also concerned; and that he believes that in the doing hereof it is meant that he shall come in again, and that this sum of money will so help the King as that he will not need the Parliament; and that in that regard it will be forwarded by the Duke of Buckingham and his faction, who dread the Parliament. But hereby must leave the Dutch, and that I doubt will undo us; and Sir H. Cholmly says he finds W. Coventry do think the like. My Lady Castlemaine is instrumental in this matter, and, he says, never more great with the King than she is now. But this is a thing that will make the Parliament and kingdom mad, and will turn to our ruine; for with this money the King shall wanton away his time in pleasures, and think nothing of the main till it be too late. This morning Mr. Sheres sent me in two volumes, Marian his History of Spaine in Spanish, an excellent book; and I am much obliged to him for it.

30th. Up, and by coach to the coachmaker's; and there I do find a great many ladies sitting in the body of a coach that must be ended by to-morrow, they were my Lady Marquess of Winches-

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ter,* Bellasses,† and other great ladies,) eating of bread and butter, and drinking ale. I to my coach, which is silvered over, but no varnish yet laid on, so I put it in a way of doing; and myself about other business, and particularly to see Sir W. Coventry, with whom I talked a good while to my great content: and so to other places, among others, to my tailor's; and then to the belt-maker's, where my belt cost me 55*s.* of the colour of my new suit; and here understanding that the mistress of the house, an oldish woman in a hat, hath some water good for the eyes, she did dress me, making my eyes smart most horribly, and did give me a little glass of it, which I will use, and hope it will do me good. So to the cutler's, and there did give Tom, who was with me all day, a sword cost me 12*s.* and a belt of my owne; and sent my own silver-hilt sword agilding against to morrow. This morning I did visit Mr. Oldenburgh, and did see the

* Isabella, daughter of William Viscount Stafford, third wife to James fifth Marquis of Winchester.

† John Lord Bellassis was thrice married: first, to Jane, daughter of Sir Robert Boteler, of Woodhall, Knt.; secondly, to Ann, daughter of Sir Robert Crane, of Chilton, Suffolk; thirdly, to Lady Anne Powlet, daughter of John, fourth Marquis of Winchester. The lady here mentioned was the second or third wife; probably the latter.

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instrument for perspective made by Dr. Wren, of which I have one making by Browne; and the sight of this do please me mightily. At noon my wife came to me at my tailor's, and I sent her home, and myself and Tom dined at Hercules Pillars; and so about our business again, and particularly to Lilly's, the varnisher, about my prints, whereof some of them are pasted upon the boards, and to my full content. Thence to the frame-maker's, one Norris, in Long Acre; who showed me several forms of frames, which were pretty, in little bits of mouldings to choose patterns by. This done, I to my coachmaker's, and there vexed to see nothing yet done to my coach, at three in the afternoon; but I set it in doing, and stood by till eight at night, and saw the painter varnish it, which is pretty to see how every doing it over do make it more and more yellow: and it dries as fast in the sun as it can be laid on almost; and most coaches are now-a-days done so, and it is very pretty when laid on well, and not too pale as some are, even to show the silver. Here I did make the workmen drink, and saw my coach cleaned and oyled; and staying among poor people there in the ally, did hear them call their fat child Punch, which pleased me mightily, that

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word being become a word of common use for all that is thick and short.

May 1st. Up betimes. My wife extraordinary fine with her flowered tabby gown that she made two years ago, now laced exceeding pretty; and indeed was fine all over. And mighty earnest to go, though the day was very lowering; and she would have me put on my fine suit, which I did. And so anon we went alone through the town with our new liveries of serge, and the horses' manes and tails tied with red ribbons, and the standards thus gilt with varnish, and all clean, and green reines, that people did mightily look upon us; and the truth is, I did not see any coach more pretty, though more gay, than ours all the day; the day being unpleasing, though the Park full of coaches, but dusty, and windy, and cold, and now and then a little dribbling of rain; and what made it worse, there were so many hackney coaches as spoiled the sight of the gentlemen's; and so we had little pleasure.

2d. Lord's-day. Up, and by water to White Hall, and there visited my Lord Sandwich, who, after about two months' absence at Hinchingbroke, came to town last night. I saw him; and he was very kind: and I am glad he is so, I

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having not wrote to him all the time, my eyes indeed not letting me. Here with Sir Charles Harbord and my Lord Hinchingbroke and Sidney, and we looked upon the picture of Tangier, designed by Charles Harbord and drawn by Dancre, which my Lord Sandwich admires, as being the truest picture that ever he saw in his life: and it is indeed very pretty, and I will be at the cost of having one of them. Thence with them to White Hall, and there walked out the sermon with one or other; and then saw the Duke of York, and he talked to me a little; and so away back by water home.

3d. Up, and by coach to my Lord Brouncker's, where Sir G. Carteret did meet Sir J. Minnes and me, to discourse upon Mr. Deering's business, who was directed in the time of the war to provide provisions at Hamburgh, by Sir G. Carteret's direction; and now Sir G. Carteret is afraid to own it, it being done without written order. But by our meeting we do all begin to recollect enough to preserve Mr. Deering, which I think, poor silly man! I shall be glad of, it being too much he should suffer for endeavouring to serve us. Thence to St. James's, where the Duke of York was playing in the Pell Mell; and

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so he called me to him most part of the time that he played, which was an hour, and talked alone to me; and, among other things, tells me how the King will not yet be got to name any body in the room of Pen, but puts it off for three or four days: from whence he do collect that they are brewing something for the Navy, but what he knows not; but I perceive is vexed that things should go so, and he hath reason; for he told me that it is likely they will do in this as in other things—resolve first, and consider it and the fitness of it afterwards. Thence to White Hall, and met with Creed, and discoursed of matters; and I perceive by him that he makes no doubt but that all will turn to the old religion, for these people cannot hold things in their hands, nor prevent its coming to that; and by his discourse he fits himself for it, and would have my Lord Sandwich do so too, and me. After a little talk with him, and particularly about the ruinous condition of Tangier, which I have a great mind to lay before the Duke of York, but dare not because of his great kindness to Lord Middleton, before it be too late, we parted, and I homeward; but called at Povy's, and there he stopped me to dinner, there being Mr. Williamson, the Lieutenant of the

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Tower, Mr. Child, and several others. And after dinner Povy and I together to talk of Tangier; and he would have me move the Duke of York in it, for it concerns him particularly more than any, as being the head of us; and I do think to do it.

5th. To St. James's, and thence with the Duke of York to White Hall, where the Board waited on him all the morning; and so at noon with Sir Thomas Allen, and Sir Edward Scott* and Lord Carlingford, to the Spanish Embassador's, where I dined the first time. The olio not so good as Shere's. There was at the table himself and a Spanish Countess, a good, comely, and witty lady; three Fathers, and us. Discourse good and pleasant. And here was an Oxford scholar in a Doctor of Laws' gowne, sent from the College where the Embassador lay when the Court was there, to salute him before his return to Spain. This man, though a gentle sort of scholar, yet sat like a fool for want of French or Spanish, but knew only Latin, which he spoke like an Englishman, to one of the Fathers. And by and by he and I to talk; and the company very merry at my defending Cambridge against Oxford; and I made much use of my French

* Sir Edward Scott, made LL.D. at Oxford 1677.

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and Spanish here, to my great content. But the dinner not extraordinary at all, either for quantity or quality.

7th. Up, and by coach to Sir W. Coventry's; and there to talk with him a great deal with great content. And so to the Duke of York, having a great mind to speak to him about Tangier; but when I came to it, his interest for my Lord Middleton is such that I dared not.

8th. After dinner all the afternoon within, with Mr. Hater, Gibson, and W. Hewer, reading over and drawing up new things in the Instructions of Commanders, which will be good, and I hope to get them confirmed by the Duke of York; though I perceive nothing will effectually perfect them but to look over the whole body of the Instructions of all the officers of a ship, and make them all perfect together. This being done, comes my bookseller, and brings me home bound my collection of papers, about my Addresse to the Duke of York in August, which makes me glad, it being that which shall do me more right many years hence than perhaps all I ever did in my life; and therefore I do, both for my own and the King's sake, value it much. By and by also comes Browne, the mathematical

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instrument-maker, and brings me home my instrument for perspective, made according to the description of Dr. Wren's in the late Transactions; and he hath made it, I think, very well, and that that I believe will do the thing, and therein gives me great content; but I have, I fear, all the content that must be received by my eyes, which are almost lost.

10th. To White Hall, where the Duke of York met the office, and there discoursed of several things, particularly the Instructions of Commanders of ships. But here happened by chance a discourse of the Council of Trade, against which the Duke of York is mightily displeased, and particularly Mr. Child, against whom he speaking hardly, Captain Cox did second the Duke of York, by saying that he was talked on for an unfayre dealer with masters of ships about freight: to which Sir T. Littleton very hotly and foolishly replied presently, that he never heard any honest man speak ill of Child; to which the Duke of York did make a smart reply, and was angry: so as I was sorry to hear it come so far, and that I, by seeming to assent to Cox, might be observed too much by Littleton, though I said nothing aloud, for this must breed great heart-

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burnings. After this meeting done, the Duke of York took the Treasurers into his closet to chide them, as Mr. Wren tells me; for that my Lord Keeper did last night at the Council say, when nobody was ready to say any thing against the constitution of the Navy, that he did believe the Treasurers of the Navy had something to say; which was very foul on their part, to be parties against us. They being gone, Mr. Wren took boat, thinking to dine with my Lord of Canterbury;* but when we came to Lambeth, the gate was shut, which is strictly done at twelve o'clock, and nobody comes in afterwards; so we lost our labour, and therefore back to White Hall, and thence walked to my Lord Crewe, whom I have not seen since he was sick, which is eight months ago, I think; and there dined with him. He is mightily broke. A stranger, a country gentleman, was with him; and he pleased with my discourse accidentally about the decay of gentlemen's families in the country, telling us that the old rule was, that a family might remain fifty miles from London one hundred years, one hundred miles from London two hundred years, and so farther or nearer London more or less years. He also

* Gilbert Sheldon.

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told us that he hath heard his father say, that in his time it was so rare for a country gentleman to come to London, that when he did come, he used to make his will before he set out. Thence to St. James's, and there met the Duke of York; who told me with great content that he did now think he should master our adversaries, for that the King did tell him that he was satisfied in the constitution of the Navy, but that it was well to give these people leave to object against it, which they having not done, he did give order to give warrant to the Duke of York to direct Sir Jeremy Smith to be a Commissioner of the Navy in the room of Pen; which, though he be an impertinent fellow, yet I am glad of it, it showing that the other side is not so strong as it was: and so in plain terms the Duke of York did tell me, that they were every day losing ground; and particularly that he would take care to keep out Child: at all which I am glad, though yet I dare not think myself secure; but the King may yet be wrought upon by these people to bring changes in our office, and remove us ere it be long. To White Hall to a Committee of Tangier, where I see all things going to rack in the business of the Corporation, and consequently in the place, by Middleton's

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going. Thence walked a little with Creed, who tells me he hears how fine my horses and coach are, and advises me to avoid being noted for it; which I was vexed to hear taken notice of, being what I feared: and Povy told me of my gold-laced sleeves in the Park yesterday, which vexed me also, so as to resolve never to appear in Court with them, but presently to have them taken off, as it is fit I should.

11th. My wife up by four o'clock, to go to gather May-dew. Some trouble at Court for fear of the Queene's miscarrying; she being, as they all conclude, far gone with child.

12th. My brother John tells me the first news that my sister Jackson is with child and far gone.

13th. At noon comes my Lord Hinchingbroke, and Sidney, and Sir Charles Harbord, and Roger Pepys, and dined with me; and had a good dinner, and very merry with us all the afternoon, it being a farewell to Sidney.

14th. At noon to dinner with Mr. Wren to Lambeth, with the Archbishop of Canterbury; the first time I was ever there, and I have long longed for it. Where a noble house, and well furnished with good pictures and furniture,



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and noble attendance in good order, and a great deal of company though an ordinary day; and exceeding great cheer, no where better, or so much, that ever I think I saw for an ordinary table: and the Bishop mighty kind to me particularly, desiring my company another time when less company there. Most of the company gone, and I going, I heard by a gentleman of a sermon that was to be there; and so I staid to hear it, thinking it serious, till by and by the gentleman told me it was a mockery by one Cornet Bolton, a very gentleman-like man, that behind a chair did pray and preach like a Presbyter Scot, with all the possible imitation in grimaces and voice. And his text about the hanging up their harps upon the willows: and a serious good sermon too, exclaiming against Bishops, and crying up of my good Lord Eglington, till it made us all burst; but I did wonder to have the Bishop at this time to make himself sport with things of this kind, but I perceive it was shown him as a rarity. And he took care to have the room-door shut, but there were about twenty gentlemen there: and myself infinitely pleased with the novelty. So over to White Hall to a little Committee of Tangier; and thence

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walking in the Gallery, I met Sir Thomas Osborne, who, to my great content, did of his own accord fall into discourse with me, with such professions of value and respect, placing the whole virtue of the office of the Navy upon me, and that for the Controller's place no man in England was fit for it but me, when Sir J. Minnes, as he says it is necessary, is removed: but then knows not what to do for a man in my place; and in discourse, though I have no mind to the other, did bring in Tom Hater to be the fittest man in the world for it, which he took good notice of. But in the whole I was mightily pleased, reckoning myself fifty per cent. securer in my place than I did before think myself to be. By water with my brother as high as Fulham, talking and singing, and playing the rogue with the Western bargemen about the women of Woolwich; which mads them.

16th. I all the afternoon drawing up a foul draught of my petition to the Duke of York about my eyes, for leave to spend three or four months out of the office, drawing it so as to give occasion to a voyage abroad; which I did to my pretty good liking. And then with my wife to Hyde



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Park, where a good deal of company and good weather.

17th. Great news now of the French taking St. Domingo, in Spaniola, from the Spaniards; which troubles us, that they should have got it, and have the honour of taking it, when we could not.

19th. With my coach to St. James's; and there finding the Duke of York gone to muster his men in Hyde Park, I alone with my boy thither, and there saw more, walking out of my coach as other gentlemen did, of a soldier's trade than ever I did in my life: the men being mighty fine, and their Commanders, particularly the Duke of Monmouth; but methought their trade but very easy as to the mustering of their men, and the men but indifferently ready to perform what was commanded in the handling of their arms. Here the news was first talked of Harry Killigrew's being wounded in nine places last night by footmen in the highway, going from the Park in a hackney-coach towards Hammersmith, to his house at Turnham Greene: they being supposed to be my Lady Shrewsbury's men, she being by in her coach with six horses; upon an old grudge of his saying

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openly that he had intrigued with her. Thence by and by to White Hall, and there I waited upon the King and Queene all dinner-time in the Queene's lodgings, she being in her white pinner, and appearing like a woman with child; and she seemed handsomer plain so than dressed. And by and by dinner done, I out and to walk in the Gallery, for the Duke of York's coming out; and there meeting Mr. May, he took me down about four o'clock to Mr. Chevin's lodgings, and all alone did get me a dish of cold chickens and good wine; and I dined like a prince, being before very hungry and empty. By and by the Duke of York comes, and readily took me to his closet, and received my petition, and discoursed about my eyes, and pitied me, and with much kindness did give me his consent to be absent, and approved of my proposition to go into Holland to observe things there of the Navy; but would first ask the King's leave, which he anon did, and did tell me that the King would be a good master to me, (these were his words about my eyes,) and do like of my going into Holland, but do advise that nobody should know of my going thither, and that I should pretend to go into the country somewhere; which I

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liked well. In discourse this afternoon, the Duke of York did tell me that he was the most amazed at one thing just now that ever he was in his life; which was, that the Duke of Buckingham did just now come into the Queene's bed-chamber, where the King was, with much mixed company, and, among others, Tom Killigrew, the father of Harry, who was last night wounded so as to be in danger of death, and his man is quite dead; and there did say that he had spoke with some one that was by, (which person all the world must know must be his mistress, my Lady Shrewsbury,) who says that they did not mean to hurt, but beat him, and that he did run first at them with his sword; so that he do hereby clearly discover that he knows who did it, and is of conspiracy with them, being of known conspiracy with her; which the Duke of York did seem to be pleased with, and said it might perhaps cost him his life in the House of Lords; and I find was mightily pleased with it, saying it was the most impudent thing, as well as the most foolish, that ever he knew man do in all his life.

20th. With my eyes mighty weary, and my head full of care how to get my accounts and

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business settled against my journey, home to supper, and to bed.

24th. To White Hall, where I attended the Duke of York, and was by him led to the King, who expressed great sense of my misfortune in my eyes, and concernment for their recovery; and accordingly signified, not only his assent to my desire therein, but commanded me to give them rest this summer, according to my late petition to the Duke of York.

26th. To White Hall, where all the morning. Dined with Mr. Chevins, with Alderman Backewell, and Spragg. The Court full of the news from Captain Hubbert of "The Milford," touching his being affronted in the Streights, shot at, and having eight men killed him by a French man-of-war, calling him "English dog," and commanding him to strike; which he refused, and, as knowing himself much too weak for him, made away from him. The Queen, as being supposed with child, fell ill, so as to call for Madam Nun, Mr. Chevins' sister, and one of her women, from dinner from us; this being the last day of their doubtfulness touching her being with child, and they were therein well confirmed by her Majesty's

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being well again before night. One Sir Edmund Bury Godfry,* a woodmonger and Justice of Peace in Westminster, having two days since arrested Sir Alexander Frazier for about 30*l.* in firing, the bailiffs were apprehended, committed to the porter's lodge, and there, by the King's command, the last night severely whipped; from which the Justice himself very hardly escaped, (to such an unusual degree was the King moved therein.) But he lies now in the lodge, justifying his act, as grounded upon the opinion of several of the Judges, and, among others, my Lord Chief-Justice; which makes the King very angry with the Chief-Justice, as they say; and the Justice do lie and justify his act, and says he will suffer in the cause for the people, and do refuse to receive almost any nutriment. The effects of it may be bad to the Court.

28th. To St. James's, where the King's being with the Duke of York prevented a meeting of the Tangier Commission. But, Lord! what a deal of sorry discourse did I hear between the King and several Lords about him here! but very mean,

* Supposed to have been murdered by the Papists, October 17th, 1678, when he was found pierced with his own sword, and with several marks of violence on his body.

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methought. So with Creed to the Excise-office, and back to White Hall; where, in the Park, Sir G. Carteret did give an account of his discourse lately with the Commissioners of Accounts, who except against many things, but none that I find considerable; among others, that of the officers of the Navy selling of the King's goods, and particularly my providing him with calico flags; which having been by order, and but once, when necessity and the King's apparent profit justified it as conformable to my particular duty, it will prove to my advantage that it be enquired into. Nevertheless, having this morning received from them a demand of an account of all monies within their cognizance received and issued by me, I was willing upon this hint to give myself rest, by knowing whether their meaning therein might reach only to my Treasurership for Tangier, or the monies employed on this occasion. I went therefore to them this afternoon to understand what monies they meant; where they answered me by saying, "The eleven months' tax, customs, and prize-money," without mentioning (any more or than I demanding) the service they respected therein: and so without further discourse we parted upon very good terms of respect, and with few words,

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but my mind not fully satisfied about the monies they mean.

29th. The King's birth-day. To White Hall, where all very gay; and particularly the Prince of Tuscany very fine, and is the first day of his appearing out of mourning since he came. I heard the Bishop of Peterborough* preach but dully; but a good anthem of Pelham's. Home to dinner, and then with my wife to Hyde Park, where all the evening: great store of company, and great preparations by the Prince of Tuscany to celebrate the night with fire-works, for the King's birth-day. And so home.

30th. (Whitsunday.) By water to White Hall, and thence to Sir W. Coventry, where all the morning by his bed-side, he being indisposed. Our discourse was upon the notes I have lately prepared for Commanders' Instructions; but concluded that nothing will render them effectual without an amendment in the choice of them, that they be seamen, and not gentlemen above the command of the Admiral, by the greatness of their relations at Court. Thence to White Hall, and dined with Mr. Chevins and his sister: whither by and by came in Mr. Progers and Sir

* Joseph Henshaw. Ob. 1678.

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Thomas Allen, and by and by fine Mrs. Wells, who is a great beauty; and there I had my full gaze upon her, to my great content, she being a woman of pretty conversation. Thence to the Duke of York, who, with the officers of the Navy, made a good entrance on my draught of my new Instructions to Commanders, as well expressing his Generalls of a reformation among them, as liking of my humble offers towards it. Thence being called by my wife, we to the Park; whence the rain sent us suddenly home.

31st. Up very betimes, and continued all the morning with W. Hewer, upon examining and stating my accounts, in order to the fitting myself to go abroad beyond sea, which the ill condition of my eyes and my neglect for a year or two hath kept me behind-hand in, and so as to render it very difficult now and troublesome to my mind to do it; but I this day made a satisfactory entrance therein. Had another meeting with the Duke of York at White Hall on yesterday's work, and made a good advance: and so being called by my wife, we to the Park, Mary Batelier, and a Dutch gentleman, a friend of hers, being with us. Thence to "The World's End," a drinking-house by the Park; and there merry, and so home late.

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And thus ends all that I doubt I shall ever be able to do with my own eyes in the keeping of my Journall, I being not able to do it any longer, having done now so long as to undo my eyes almost every time that I take a pen in my hand; and therefore, whatever comes of it, I must forbear: and therefore resolve from this time forward to have it kept by my people in long-hand, and must be contented to set down no more than is fit for them and all the world to know; or if there be any thing, I must endeavour to keep a margin in my book open, to add here and there a note in short-hand with my own hand. And so I betake myself to that course, which is almost as much as to see myself go into my grave: for which, and all the discomforts that will accompany my being blind, the good God prepare me!

*May* 31, 1669. S. P.

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